

For New Irish President, a Chance to Nudge the Status Quo

By Sheila Rule
New York Times Service

DUBLIN — President Mary Robinson's sharpest political weapon may be the power of being there. Mrs. Robinson, 46, the first woman to hold the office of president in Ireland, was elected in November as the candidate of the small, leftist Labor Party. Previously a human-rights lawyer, Mrs. Robinson began her run for the presidency as a 100-to-1 outsider.

Some political analysts have suggested that voters regarded support for Mrs. Robinson as a positive gesture, but one that would not give her enough power to seriously threaten the status quo. She had failed in two previous attempts to win election as a Labor Party candidate to the lower house of Parliament.

The Irish are not ready for a radical feminist approach to executive power, these analysts say. The president's close associates say that she may threaten the status quo by using powers that have never been tested by former holders of the office.

"She can't introduce laws," said Brian Rosney, Mrs. Robinson's personal adviser, "but she can facilitate the expression of people's needs and wants."

"She was in power two weeks when she went to Sunday Mass — traditionally the president goes to

private Mass at the private chapel in the official residence — in the most deprived area in Dublin, called Ballymun. She just turned up there in order to attract attention to their situation. She can invite people to come and meet her and tell her what their problems are. She can't make statements without government approval, but she can sit and listen. That is what she will do."

Mrs. Robinson is not giving any more interviews until January, aides say. But in an interview with The Independent, a British daily newspaper, in early December, she was asked whether, because the presidency has no executive power, her activities would not be merely symbolic.

"Symbols can be extremely important," she replied, "when they have a possible practical relevance. If organizations and individuals make contact in a much more concerted way, then that ceases to be a pure symbol. It becomes a mood, and something with a momentum of its own."

"And it becomes then a significant encouragement to greater political willingness to reach out for structures that bring about peace and reconciliation. So although a great deal of the approach and the language and the direction of it will be using symbolism and not speaking in the normal political language, there's a lot more substance to it."

In this socially conservative and overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country, it looked as if the issues she raised might keep her on the periphery of the male-dominated political arena.

But she campaigned long and hard — for women's equality, more support for the disadvantaged and for the liberalization of laws on divorce, contraception and homosexuality — and managed to pull off one of the biggest political upsets in the country's recent history.

She won 52 percent of the vote in the final tally, having attracted support from both men and women, from all political parties, social classes and every region of the country. The governing Fianna Fail party lost the presidency for the first time and the candidate of Fine Gael, the main opposition group, finished a distant third.

In her inaugural address, Mrs. Robinson said: "The Ireland I will be representing is a new Ireland — open, tolerant, inclusive. Many of you who voted for me did so without sharing all of my views. This, I believe, is a significant sign of change, a sign, however modest, that we have already passed the threshold to a new, pluralist Ireland."

Mrs. Robinson, whose parents were both doctors, had a privileged childhood and early on decided to make law her career. She attended Trinity College

and Harvard University and, at the age of 25, became the youngest professor of law in Trinity's history.

In the courts, Mrs. Robinson has fought for the rights of women, married and separated couples, children, the handicapped, the poor and the unemployed.

She was a long-serving member of the Irish Senate, the upper house of Parliament. She is also a wife — her husband, Nicholas, is a lawyer — and the mother of three children, the youngest of whom is 9.

In a speech after she was declared the winner, Mrs. Robinson said she had been elected above all by the women of Ireland, "who instead of rocking the cradle rocked the system and who came out massively to make their mark on the ballot paper and on a new Ireland."

As her country's seventh president, Mrs. Robinson has few constitutional powers and scant direct effect on politics. Nonetheless, her election has caused ordinary citizens and politicians to take a fresh look at often contentious social issues.

And it has pushed Fianna Fail to try to shake off its patriarchal image — the epitome of old-style patronage politics in a not-and-wink world of favors. After the election, Prime Minister Charles J. Haughey acknowledged demands for a more pluralist and liberal Ireland by announcing that homosexuality would be decriminalized.

WORLD BRIEFS

An Israeli Admits to Killing 7 Arabs

TEL AVIV (Reuters) — A tearful Israeli told a court Thursday that he gunned down seven Arab workers from the occupied Gaza Strip in May "to end the nightmare," which he said stemmed from being raped as a boy by Arabs.

Ami Popper, 21, taking the stand in his own defense, admitted to killing the seven workers. His lawyer said Mr. Popper was mentally ill and denied charges by prosecutors that he had carefully calculated the murders.

Mr. Popper said he went to a field nicknamed the "slave market" in the Israeli city of Rishon LeZion and opened fire on Arab job seekers. He told investigators on his arrest that he murdered the seven because he was gang-raped by four Arabs when he was 13. Before the murders, he was discharged by the army for unsuitability. He tried to kill himself with his army weapon.

Chaos as Indian Parliament Opens

NEW DELHI (NYT) — Parliament in India descended into chaos shortly after opening Thursday for its first session under the new government of Prime Minister Chandrababu Naidu.

Little business could be transacted during a day of hot-tempered name-calling. Mr. Naidu's opponents called a no-confidence vote on his ability to keep peace between Hindus and Muslims in India, a vote the government won 170 to 120. Several hundred people have died in Hindu-Muslim violence in the six weeks since Mr. Naidu took office.

As Mr. Naidu tried to introduce his cabinet to the assembled lower house, a group of opposition members moved toward the government benches demanding the ouster of the new minister of energy, Kalyan Singh. Mr. Singh had been quoted supporting suicide, the outlawed practice of women throwing themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres.

Albanian Party Seeks Delay in Vote

TIRANA, Albania (Reuters) — Albania's new opposition Democratic Party on Thursday demanded a referendum to decide the date of the country's first multiparty elections after the ruling Communists refused its request for a delay.

A founder of the party, Sali Berisha, said it had lodged a petition demanding the referendum to the president of the People's Assembly, which decreed on Monday that the elections should go ahead as planned on Feb. 10.

The Democratic Party, founded by students and academics earlier this month as the first non-Communist party in 46 years, wants elections postponed until May to give it time to organize.

OAS Calls a Meeting on Suriname

WASHINGTON (Combined Dispatches) — The Organization of American States summoned member states Thursday to a special meeting Friday to discuss a Venezuelan request for prompt action to restore the constitutional government in Suriname.

The president of the permanent council of the OAS, Juan Pablo Lohme of Argentina, called the emergency session at the request of the Venezuelan ambassador to the organization, Guido Grossos. The envoy said the military coup against the Surinamese government on Christmas Eve was a "severe violation of the principles of the OAS charter" and should not be allowed to stand.

In Suriname, the head of the armed forces, Commander Ivan Graafland, said the legislature would name a transitional government Saturday. Commander Graafland, who led the coup, said the transitional government would rule until the legislature designated a new president and cabinet within 100 days.

Ulster Gunmen Fire on Checkpoint

BELFAST (Reuters) — Northern Ireland policemen said guerrillas fired on one of their checkpoints early Thursday, the first incident in the province since a Christmas truce began at midnight Sunday.

The shooting, 20 minutes after midnight, followed a three-day ceasefire by the Irish Republican Army. The police said nobody was wounded in the shooting.

The truce was to expire at midnight, but there were hopes among some politicians that it might be extended. The last IRA Christmas ceasefire in 1974, was informally extended for eight months and ended only when peace talks failed to make progress.

Brazil Policemen Suspects in Slaying

RIO DE JANEIRO (AP) — Three federal police agents are the leading suspects in the slaying of a Greek shipping executive and the theft of a briefcase full of cash, Rio police said Thursday.

Konstantinos Petychakis was found shot to death Dec. 20, two hours after he was seen entering a federal police car at Rio's Galeao airport. Inspector Ubirajara Assis dos Santos of Rio said.

Mr. Petychakis, who represented the Greek company Tasco Shipping and Trading, had arrived from Uruguay with between \$50,000 and \$80,000 in cash to pay a ship's crew, the inspector said. The company has three tankers leased to Brazil's state oil company, Petrobras.

Cold Devastates Crops in California

LOS ANGELES (Combined Dispatches) — One of California's worst winter cold spells in half a century has devastated the state's \$8 billion fruit and vegetable industry, officials said Thursday, and supermarket prices across the country were already beginning to rise.

Farmers called on officials to declare parts of the state a disaster area after a prolonged and widespread freeze, which brought record low temperatures to many places.

In Washington, an official report said that the severe cold in the state "caused extensive damage to the citrus and vegetable crops." (NYT, AP)

TRAVEL UPDATE

Work has started in London on Britain's first international railroad terminal, Waterloo International. Completion is scheduled to coincide with the opening of the Channel Tunnel in 1993. According to British Rail plans, trains will depart every hour for both Paris (a three-hour journey) and Brussels (11 minutes more).

Austrian and United Airlines are offering packages that permit travel one way by rail and return by air. Travelers will save about 30 percent of the regular fares for each leg. Reservations for the program begin Wednesday, United said. It is hoped the cost of the packages will overcome resistance by travelers — because of high one-way fares — to taking trips by air one way and by rail the other.

La Guardia Airport in New York City is one-quarter of the way through a four-year, \$340-million redevelopment program to expand and improve its facilities. Passengers heading for the airport should set out earlier than they normally would because of detours and construction delays, the airport said.

WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
Location	High	Low	Wind	Location	High	Low	Wind
Amsterdam	48	40	W	Bangkok	86	74	E
London	46	38	W	Beijing	54	42	N
Paris	44	36	W	Calcutta	84	72	E
Rome	42	34	W	Hong Kong	78	66	E
Madrid	40	32	W	Manila	82	70	E
Moscow	38	30	W	Seoul	76	64	E
Stockholm	36	28	W	Taipei	80	68	E
Warsaw	34	26	W	Tokyo	74	62	E
Yokohama	72	60	E				
AFRICA				NORTH AMERICA			
Location	High	Low	Wind	Location	High	Low	Wind
Algiers	58	50	N	Atlanta	54	42	N
Cairo	62	54	N	Boston	52	40	N
Johannesburg	66	58	N	Chicago	50	38	N
London	46	38	W	Dallas	48	36	N
Los Angeles	44	36	W	Denver	46	34	N
Mexico City	42	34	W	Detroit	44	32	N
New York	40	32	W	Houston	42	30	N
San Francisco	38	30	W	Los Angeles	40	28	N
Seattle	36	28	W	Memphis	38	26	N
Washington	34	26	W	Minneapolis	36	24	N
SOUTH AMERICA				OCEANIA			
Location	High	Low	Wind	Location	High	Low	Wind
Buenos Aires	58	50	N	Auckland	54	42	N
Lima	62	54	N	Honolulu	80	68	E
Sao Paulo	66	58	N	Manila	82	70	E
Valparaiso	70	62	N	Tokyo	74	62	E

In Kasparov's View, the Best Man Won

By Lubomir Kavalek and Joseph McLellan
Washington Post Service

With no false modesty, Garry Kasparov explained how he had retained his world chess title by beating his challenger, Anatoli Karpov.

"I play chess better than Karpov," Mr. Kasparov said. "That's the most important reason. I'm a very good professional player now."

Mr. Kasparov kept his title by playing to a draw on Wednesday in Lyon. With the score of the world championship match at 12-10 in Mr. Kasparov's favor after the 22d game, the best Mr. Kasparov can now achieve is a tie. But in that event, Mr. Kasparov still retains his title.

Although the title has been settled, Game 23 of the 24-game match is scheduled for Saturday, with Mr. Kasparov having the advantage of the white pieces. Still to be decided is the distribution of the \$3 million in prize money.

If Mr. Kasparov reaches a score of 12.5 points, which he can accomplish with a draw in one of the two games, he wins \$1.7 million and Mr. Karpov gets \$1.3 million. But if Mr. Karpov wins the remaining games, making the final score

12-12, each player gets \$1.5 million.

This was the third attempt by Mr. Karpov to regain the title that he lost to Mr. Kasparov in 1985. Such staying power and resiliency is unusual in the history of the championship, although Mikhail Botvinnik won and lost the title three times from 1948 to 1963.

Mr. Karpov will be seeded in the elimination matches for the next championship in 1993, but he may be eliminated by one of the young stars who have been rising in the last few years. He will be 42 then, and world-class chess, which demands great physical stamina as well as a special kind of intelligence and fighting spirit, is essentially a younger man's game.

After Wednesday's game, Mr. Kasparov said: "It was a good game, a well-played game — it was an important game. I was very nervous. I didn't know what to do — to play for a win or play for a draw. My life became much easier because I got the worse position, and I definitely had to fight for a draw."

Mr. Kasparov, 27, was favored by about four points entering the match, after recent tournament results catapulted him to a rating of 2800 — the highest in chess history, eclipsing the 2785 achieved by Bobby Fischer in the 1970s.



Mr. Kasparov said he had simply played "better than Karpov."

News Bias Fuels Yugoslav Division

Pro-Serbian Reporting in Belgrade Worsens Ethnic Rifts, Diplomats Say

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Service

BELGRADE — Press bias on a scale that no longer exists in post-Communist Eastern Europe remains a fact of life here in Serbia, the largest of Yugoslavia's six contentious republics.

Ethnic scare headlines — "Hellish Police Hunt on Serbs," "Fascist Terrorists Sent to Subjugate Serbs" or "Croatian Police Throw Serbian Infants Around" — are daily breakfast fare in Belgrade, capital of Serbia as well as Yugoslavia. An article on the Yugoslav government's attempt to bring market reform to communist Serbia carried this headline: "Serbian Economy Knives in the Back."

In the last three years, the government-owned press in Belgrade has been an invaluable prop in the populist staying power of Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia and one of Europe's last surviving communist strongmen.

Mr. Milosevic, who won a resounding 65 percent victory this month in Serbia's first multiparty election since World War II, is widely viewed by Western governments as the individual most responsible for inflaming ethnic tensions in this patchwork country.

In the week before Mr. Milosevic was re-elected, journalists from the Belgrade daily Politika and from the capital's main radio and television stations crowded in front of the Serbian legislature building to deliver a written demand for the immediate dismissal of their editors.

Rade Radonovic, a journalist from Belgrade radio and leader of the group, said the editors used editing and layout "not as a method of presenting the news, but as a way to falsify the truth."

"The simplest way to put it is that they are lying," he said.

The demonstration culminated in an in-house revolt by many well-known journalists against editorial policies that the journalists say are manipulated by Mr. Milosevic.

By giving Mr. Milosevic screaming headlines and fawning air time, Western diplomats say, the press has frightened other ethnic groups and helped push Yugoslavia to the brink of disintegration.

Responding to press bias in Belgrade, newspapers and television stations in the rival western Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia have noticeably lowered their standards of objectivity. Distorted reporting — pro-Serbian in Belgrade, anti-Serbian in Zagreb — where else — no doubt played a role in persuading Slovenian voters

last Sunday to approve a referendum that authorizes their republic's independence from Yugoslavia.

Editors at Vjesnik, the main daily newspaper in Croatia, acknowledged that they were taking an increasingly tough anti-Serbian line this year and pointed to what they described as constant provocations in the Belgrade press.

Foreign journalists based in Belgrade said that although ethnic rivalry had eroded the objectivity of journalism across Yugoslavia, the news organizations that Mr. Milosevic controls remained far and away the most hysterical and inaccurate. Politika, Belgrade's largest daily, relies on unnamed sources as authorities for its frequent articles about how Slovenia and Croatia are said to be running guns to ethnic Albanians in the troubled Serbian province of Kosovo.

When Croatian policemen tried to recover guns stolen last summer from government armories by Serbs living in that republic, articles in Belgrade complained about the recruiting of "fascist terrorists" to harass Serbs. The articles were not substantiated.

The final week of the Serbian election campaign offered what Yugoslav journalists described as typical "Milosevism." The Serbian president delivered a brief and carefully choreographed speech in Novi Sad, about an hour's drive from Belgrade. Workers from state-owned factories around Serbia were given the afternoon off and bused in for the rally.

The crowd dutifully filed into the town square just minutes before Mr. Milosevic appeared. They cheered wildly during the 20-minute speech, waved banners praising "Slobo," then returned sullenly to their buses. Journalists at the scene estimated the crowd at about 15,000. Serbia's state-owned news organizations reported it at 75,000 to 150,000.

More remarkable than the crowd estimates were the camera angles. In live coverage and in two subsequent full-length reruns of the speech, Serbian television managed to make the smallest crowd look huge and feverishly excited. Politika gave the speech, a lackluster rehash of well-known views, four full pages of coverage, comment and photographs.

"I quit Politika in October," said Milos Vasic, a political writer. "I had enough. First they cut my pay in half because they didn't like what I was writing."

Later, he said, "they wouldn't publish anything that I wrote."

UN Refugee Chief Has a Local Message

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service

TOKYO — With understandable pride, Japanese government officials are saying these days that the recent selection of a Japanese woman as the new United Nations high commissioner for refugees sends a signal that Tokyo is ready for a leadership role in a vexing global problem.

But for Sadako Ogata, who takes office as high commissioner on Jan. 1, an equally important message should be read at home: the Japanese record of contributing funds to the refugee problem, and to international humanitarian causes generally, has been inadequate.

"I think it would be pretty good if Japan, in becoming an economic power, becomes a humanitarian power as well," Mrs. Ogata said in an interview.

Mrs. Ogata, dean of foreign studies at Sophia University in Tokyo, will be the highest-ranking Japanese at an international agency at a time when Japan has clamored for a role commensurate with its growing status as financier of international activities.

The agency in charge of 15 million refugees is in a financial crisis, which could worsen if war breaks out in the Middle East or chaos grows in the Soviet Union.

Agency officials have made it clear that they expect Japan to do more to help.

Japan is second only to the United States in contributing to the agency's \$500 million annual budget, but the ranking is deceptive. In fact, Japan's contribution has been steady at \$55 million to \$60 million a year, despite the yen's being worth twice as many dollars as five years ago. That means that in terms of the Japanese budget, appropriations for refugees have gone down sharply, not up.

Critics say Japan's lagging efforts on refugees are a mirror of its failure elsewhere to provide aid to developing countries or to aid the global environmental problems.

Although Japan is the No. 1 foreign assistance donor in terms of dollars, it achieved that status because of the high yen and because the United States has cut back. On a per capita basis, Japan is well behind many European countries as an aid donor.

Nor has Japan moved dramatically on refugee problems beyond giving money. Under pressure to do more, the government agreed in 1985 to permit the resettlement of 10,000 Indochinese refugees in Japan, but so far only 7,000 have been resettled.

"Change takes a long time in Japan," she said. "I think you should always look at Japan in a medium-term perspective — at least 5 or 10 years. Japan moves

Algerians Protest Law Ordering Use of Arabic

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ALGIERS — Tens of thousands of Algerians marched through the streets of Algiers on Thursday protesting what they said was political and religious intolerance and over-rapid Arabization.

The protesters, led by the opposition leader Hocine Ait-Ahmed, focused their displeasure on the law adopted Wednesday night making Arabic the national language and exacting fines for using any other language in official transactions.

The law is aimed at French, the language of the workplace in this former colony but considered elitist, and implicitly threatens the use of Berber, spoken by nearly a third of the population.

Marchers said they were demonstrating in favor of democracy and "quality Arabization" of this former French colony.

Mr. Ait-Ahmed, a Berber, called the law a "venetian blind" against democracy.

The law passed by a vote of 173 to 8, with 13 abstentions. It must be signed by President Chadli Bendjedid before it can take effect.

According to the law, the use of Arabic in all official and work transactions as well as in schools is to be "total" by 1997. Television broadcasts must also be in Arabic.

Existing French newspapers, specialized publications and those edited exclusively for foreigners will be exempt from the law.

Mr. Ait-Ahmed accused the government of "complicity" with Islamic forces, which he said were at the origin of the new law.

The Moroccan fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front has emerged as the main opposition party in Algeria, which moved to pluralism after riots in October 1988.

The Algerian Constitution cites Arabic as the national language but does not forbid the use of foreign languages.

Under the new law, all documents prepared by the government or private businesses in a language other than Arabic will be "nullified" and fines of 1,000 to 5,000 dinars (\$100 to \$500) levied.

Political parties will be fined 10,000 to 100,000 dinars for not complying with the law.

Although Algeria achieved independence from France in 1962 after a violent uprising, the two countries maintain close ties and French remains widely used in commerce and government.

In Paris, where the Socialist government has made the spread of the French language a matter of honor, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said only that the new law was an "internal" Algerian matter.

But the spokesman added that France "remained attentive to everything that involves the French language and the use of French around the world."

Nevertheless, diplomats in Paris said the law could eventually affect French-Algerian cooperation projects, pointing out that several thousand French nationals teach their mother tongue in the Algerian school system.

Algerians protested the law ordering the use of Arabic in official transactions, saying it was a "venetian blind" against democracy.

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سكاي الامل

USIA Takes Over Key VOA Functions In Surprise Move

By David Binder

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In a maneuver that startled many administration officials, the U.S. Information Agency has taken over important operations of the Voice of America, assuming its budget authority and personnel and public affairs operations.

The information agency is the parent organization of Voice of America, but the broadcasting agency had enjoyed considerable autonomy.

A senior official at the information agency contended that its director, Bruce Gelb, had the legal authority for the action, which took place Dec. 14. But customarily, such restructurings in government agencies are carried out only with the approval of congressional committees and the Office of Management and Budget.

Mr. Gelb reportedly took the step without consulting the National Security Council, the budget office or the VOA director, Richard W. Carlson.

Mr. Gelb's move, creating a new Bureau of Broadcasting within the information agency, occurred in the early stages of an effort by the Bush administration to bring all of the government's international broadcasting operations under one authority.

Those involved include the Voice of America, Radio and TV Marti and the Worldnet television service, all part of the information agency, and Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty, which is controlled by the Board for International Broadcasting, an independent government agency.

The Voice of America, a general news service, broadcasts around the world and has strived to maintain a reputation for impartial reporting despite its government ties. Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to Eastern Europe, and the Marti stations, which broadcast to Cuba, offer news programs tailored to local listeners and are strongly anti-Communist.

In October, President George

Bush signed a National Security Directive intended to initiate the reorganization process with the appointment of a bipartisan commission to draft a restructuring plan. Mr. Bush is expected to announce his nominations for the commission in early January.

A congressional critic called the Gelb move on Voice of America "a pre-emptive strike" designed to make the information agency more powerful in coming battles with the other broadcasting entities.

Mr. Gelb's spokesman, Charles Bell, said the objective of the restructuring was "to eliminate redundancy and duplication."

"The structural integrity of the Voice of America will be fully protected," he said.

The spokesman said that "Richard W. Carlson was fully consulted on the plans" and that Congress, the budget office and the National Security Council, which has responsibility for the government's information policy, were "consulted at some point in this process."

But Mr. Bell's assertions contradict the version presented by White House officials, congressional staff members and VOA managers.

Critics at the Voice of America, in Congress and in the White House say they see it as partly motivated by spite toward VOA's director, a presidential appointee whom Mr. Gelb unsuccessfully tried to ouster twice last spring.

According to several officials, Mr. Gelb summoned Mr. Carlson to his office on Dec. 14 and handed him a seven-page memorandum outlining his plans for folding station operations into his agency.

At the same time, they said, Mr. Gelb's aides were notifying members of Congress and a National Security Council official of his action. The agency reportedly did not notify the budget office, which learned of the move from a White House official later that day.

An agency memorandum dated Oct. 16, composed by Mr. Gelb's three top aides outlines the entire plan for incorporating essential VOA functions into the U.S. Information Agency.

Franco Piga, Minister For Italy Industry, Dies

The Associated Press

ROME — Franco Piga, 63, the state industry minister who recently mediated a battle for control in Italy's chemical industry, died Wednesday night of a heart attack in Cortina d'Ampezzo, where he was spending the Christmas holidays.

A Christian Democrat, Mr. Piga received the post in Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti's government in July, after five ministers quit in a dispute. He had served as head of the stock market regulatory agency, Consob, from 1984 to 1988.

As minister, Mr. Piga played a major role in working out an accord between the state energy group ENI and the chemical company, Montedison, allowing ENI to buy a controlling stake in their disputed joint-venture, Enimont.

The prime minister's office announced that Mr. Andreotti would temporarily hold the ministry post until a replacement was named.

Foy D. Kohler, 82, Cuban Crisis Diplomat

New York Times Service

Foy D. Kohler, 82, the diplomat whose tour as the U.S. ambassador

in Moscow was only weeks old when the Cuban missile crisis began, died Sunday in Jupiter, Florida, after a long illness.

Mr. Kohler, a Soviet specialist and former director of the Voice of America, was assistant secretary of state for European affairs when President John F. Kennedy sent him to Moscow in 1962.

On Oct. 23, Mr. Kohler was summoned to the Soviet Foreign Ministry to receive a letter from Nikita S. Khrushchev in response to a television address by President Kennedy the night before.

President Kennedy was convinced that the Soviet Union had placed offensive missiles in Cuba and he ordered the U.S. Navy to head off Soviet ships bound there. He threatened a full-scale attack on the Soviet Union if missiles from Cuba were to strike the United States or its allies.

Moscow told Washington through Mr. Kohler that the naval quarantine risked nuclear war. In the days that followed, Mr. Kohler was a conduit in the diplomacy that allowed Mr. Khrushchev to climb down from his position and recall the missiles.

Swiss to Send Back Marcos's Millions

The Associated Press

LAUSANNE, Switzerland — In a ruling published Thursday that ended more than four years of litigation in Swiss courts, the Supreme Court approved returning to the Philippine government \$350 million that was sent to Switzerland by former President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

The court said the money, frozen in several Swiss banks since March 1986, must be returned as soon as a

criminal court in the Philippines issued a "legally binding" verdict in the case. That verdict, it said, should indicate whether the funds should be confiscated or returned to claimant.

It gave the Philippines a year to open the criminal proceedings. If no verdict were returned by the deadline, Swiss banks would end their seizure of the assets "upon request of those affected," the court said.

U.S. Population Put at 249,632,692 (Some Beg to Differ)

By Felicity Barringer

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — After one of the most controversial head counts ever, the Census Bureau has put the population of the United States at 249,632,692, an increase of more than 23 million people, or 10.2 percent, over 1980.

The increase reflected almost a million overseas federal workers, including military personnel and their dependents, who were included in the 1990 figure under a new law. When they are eliminated from the count, as they were in 1980, the 1990 population amounted to 248.7 million. The 1980 figure was 226.5 million.

Although the Constitution requires that a population figure for each state be reported to the president by the end of the year for apportioning the number of congressional representatives from

each state, the Commerce Department can still decide that the survey was flawed and that it will statistically adjust the count.

The department, the Census Bureau's parent agency, has said that it will determine by July 15 whether to do so.

The population figures that were made public Wednesday, reflecting calculations as of April 1, 1990, confirmed the anticipated shift of people and political power to the West and the South. If the figures are not shifted dramatically, 19 congressional seats will shift among the states next year, with California, Texas and Florida the biggest winners among the eight states to gain more representatives.

A total of 13 states, all but three of them in the Northeast and the Midwest, will lose representation. New York, which is expected to

lose three seats, would be the biggest loser.

Among the other states losing representation were Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio, each standing to lose two seats. The three losers outside the Northeast and Midwest industrial regions were Kentucky, Louisiana and Montana.

California, where one of every eight people in the United States now lives, emerged from the census as a political behemoth, a population bigger than Canada's, a population that would exceed the undercount in 1990 would exceed the undercount of a decade ago, when the bureau estimated that it missed about 3.2 million people.

Officials of the Commerce Department said it would be premature to assess the accuracy of its figures until the evaluation of a postcensus survey is completed.

"It'll be early summer before we know enough to intelligently answer your question," said Michael R. Darby, undersecretary

of commerce for economic affairs. But the chairman of the House Census and Population Subcommittee said a spokesman for the Democrats in state legislatures — where the reapportionment battles will be fought — pointed out that in October the Census Bureau's Population Division had issued a report estimating the total resident population at 253.4 million, an estimate which, if correct, would mean that the bureau's counting had missed about five million people.

Representative Thomas C. Sawyer, Democrat of Ohio, who heads the subcommittee, said: "What was obvious to every American in 1990 is true. The population of the United States has become much more difficult to count."

"It is a larger, more diverse and more mobile population than it

has ever been," he said. "This figure may indicate that time-honored techniques are simply not sufficient."

New York State, as well as New York City and several other major municipalities, have sued in an attempt to force the Commerce Department to use statistical sampling techniques adjusting the final figures to reflect the presumed undercount.

Historically, undercounts have affected members of minorities and inner-city residents most severely. Organizations representing blacks and Hispanics have joined the suit as plaintiffs.

Urban officials around the country have contended in recent years that census undercounts have cheated them of both political power and millions of dollars in U.S. aid that is distributed on the basis of population.

In Hawaii, Usually Kind and Gentle, an Ethnic Dispute Erupts

By Richard Halloran

New York Times Service

HONOLULU — In racial and ethnic relations, Hawaii is normally a kind and gentle place, a mosaic of Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Caucasian and other Americans living in amity.

But under the surface are undeniable tensions rooted largely in economics. Caucasian and Asian Americans are on the top and middle of the economic ladder, and ethnic Hawaiians and Filipinos are on the bottom.

Like Hawaii's volcano, Kilauea, those tensions sometimes erupt. A woman of Hawaiian descent,

Hannani-Kay Trask, recently set off one such explosion, one that has reverberated through the islands.

It started three months ago when a white student at the University of Hawaii, Joseph Carter, wrote a letter to the university's student newspaper lambasting what he called "Caucasian bashing" and asserting that "racism is not an exclusively white endeavor."

Ms. Trask, who teaches Hawaiian studies at the university, replied with a letter to the newspaper reciting what she saw as white oppression of ethnic Hawaiians, contending that "Mr. Carter does not

understand racism at all" and should leave the state.

Mr. Carter did just that, flying home to Louisiana.

An uproar ensued, with critics of Ms. Trask calling her a racist who had abused her position by lashing out at a student. The faculty of the philosophy department, in which Mr. Carter had studied, condemned Ms. Trask in a unanimous approved resolution that soon gained wide publicity.

Ms. Trask's supporters shot back, contending that she was asserting her rights to free speech. In an interview, Ms. Trask denied picking on Mr. Carter, who has

returned to the university and plans to re-enroll in January.

"I always raise this issue," said Ms. Trask, whose family name derives from a Caucasian grandfather. "This has been my position for 15 years. I am a nationalist. I am asserting my claim to my country."

The university's Center for Hawaiian Studies, of which she is director, accused the philosophy department of "plantation tactics of threat, reprisal and intimidation."

But members of several ethnic groups have argued that Ms. Trask has been "un-Hawaiian" in raising these issues with such vehemence.

The Hawaiian way, they say, is to be gentle, patient and circumspect.

To this, Ms. Trask responded by attacking the image of Hawaiians fostered by the Hawaii Visitors Bureau. "I am not soft," she said. "I am not sweet, and I do not want any more tourists in Hawaii."

Ms. Trask advocates a return to Hawaiian independence, which ended when the islands were annexed by the United States in 1898.

The issue has become a staple of hunchback conversation at the university and in the broader community. Some of the contention turns on the Hawaiian word *haole*, which

originally meant foreigner, but is now widely used to mean a Caucasian. Mr. Carter asserted that ethnic Hawaiians use it pejoratively, but in her letter Ms. Trask said, "Only new arrivals resent it because they have not had experience in a numerical minority."

In a population of just over a million, Hawaii is 24 percent Caucasian and 23 percent Japanese-American. Ethnic Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians make up 20 percent, while Filipinos, at 11 percent, are the fastest-growing group. Chinese-Americans account for 5 percent. Other ethnic groups round out the population.

It's Art, and Not Alcohol, for 55 Cities on New Year's Eve

By Jon Nordheimer

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — From Boston to Calgary to Honolulu, more than a million Americans and Canadians are expected on New Year's Eve to ring out the traditional celebration of booze, noisemakers and hangovers and ring in Mozart, ballet performances and a wide selection of popular entertainment from rock and roll to reggae to hula dancing.

Fifty-five cities in the United States and Canada will serve up performing arts and family entertainment as nonalcoholic alternatives to the carousing and midnight countdowns and fleets of intoxicated drivers who make the night one of the deadliest on the roads.

In some respects it is an extension of a new militancy against public and private drinking, drunken driving and hazardous holiday risk-taking like fireworks on the Fourth of July and trick-or-treating on Halloween.

But more than that, the multicultural events seek to accomplish what is not supposed to be possible in many cities: a drawing together

of diverse crowds after dark in downtown areas, reaffirming a community spirit through the celebration of the arts.

The idea started 15 years ago in Boston, where the streets have filled on recent New Year's Eves with as many as 500,000 people. Encouraged by that city's experience with peaceful, festive crowds, the idea began to spread in the 1980s to other communities.

"New Year's Eve is the safest night of the year in Boston," said Zeren Earls, director of First Night Boston, the nonprofit organizing force behind that city's celebration and others elsewhere that are based on the Boston model.

This year, First Night Boston will feature more than 1,000 artists performing at 41 indoor and 18 outdoor sites along a wide corridor in the heart of the city.

"People are in the best mood," Ms. Earls said, "walking the city streets with their children, taking in everything from inner-city rap groups to Handel and Haydn."

Many people derive a benefit about as rare in some metropolitan areas as chamber music in a fast-

food outlet: a revived sense of community.

Gerald Fiest of Montclair, New Jersey, a community of 36,500 about 15 miles (25 kilometers) west of New York City, said, "When we started First Night Montclair three years ago, I was amazed by the sight of people discovering it was all right to talk with strangers on the streets of their town."

"In modern America we've lost many of our rituals and on New Year's Eve we're attempting to create one of a community at peace as we go into the future together," said Mr. Fiest, a professional storyteller who spins fables for children on New Year's Eve.

A Montclair neighbor, Lucretia Robinson, sees a combination of trends behind the enthusiasm, the

anti-drunken-driving movement being just one of them.

"In the past parents were forced to decide between having a good time or staying at home with their children and watching the Times Square ball go down at midnight on television," she said.

"And the economy is forcing a change in attitude, that excess like two Porches in every garage is a terrible value and that the conviviality and closeness of family-centered and community activities are more meaningful."

In a city like New York, where homelessness, crime and other intractable urban ills have enshrined a streetwise dictum — "Never make eye contact with a stranger" — into a daily way of life, opportunities to cross the barriers of silent

alienation often seem available only to dog-walkers and those in movie lines. So far, no one has sought to establish something like First Night Boston in New York.

"There's a hunger everywhere for this kind of expression but people are at a loss as to how to go about creating it," said Philip Slater, a writer and social critic in Santa Cruz, California.

Michael Lears, director of the American Studies Department at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, said: "Coming out into the streets to celebrate together sounds like a very European way of doing things. Americans have spent so much time escaping from their community by locking themselves up at night with television sets and VCRs that we've created a global village but lost a local one."

The First Night movement, which added 20 cities in the past year alone, was set in motion chiefly by nonpolitical groups. In most communities the effort was spearheaded by local arts councils, newspapers, civic-minded individuals or merchant associations.

"I liked the focus of shifting away from alcohol to the arts," said Merry Lee Corwin, the force behind First Night Honolulu, which is holding its inaugural effort Monday and is expecting to draw 100,000 celebrants.

Ms. Corwin got \$150,000 in seed money from the Hawaiian Community Foundation, a cultural group, and another \$100,000 from local businesses.

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السلامة

THE GULF: The Iraqi president keeps insisting that any diplomatic settlement take account of the Palestinian problem.

Hussein Reasserts Willingness to Talk But Not to Concede

By Patrick E. Tyler

New York Times Service

BAGHDAD — President Saddam Hussein sent his ambassadors back to their posts in Western and other foreign capitals Thursday with a message that Iraq wanted a "serious and constructive" dialogue with the United States.

But he gave no hint that he would agree to pull his occupation army out of Kuwait after such a dialogue and before the Jan. 15 deadline set in UN resolutions.

Instead, Mr. Hussein reiterated his assertion that a solution to the Gulf crisis should be linked to the settlement of Arab-Israeli disputes over the plight of the Palestinian people and what he called Syrian hegemony in Lebanon.

As Iraqi ambassadors left Baghdad, the government organized a large demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy to protest the seizure of an Iraqi cargo vessel Wednesday carrying sugar, rice and other food to an Iraqi port in contravention of the United Nations Security Council trade embargo against Iraq.

Iraqi authorities were seeking to highlight injuries to Iraqi women aboard the ship from the use of stun grenades by the combined U.S. and British boarding party.

Iraqi authorities reported several injuries among the 250 Iraqi women and Arab journalists aboard the vessel Ibn Khaldoun. Americans officials said Wednesday that there were no serious injuries.

Late Thursday, Mr. Hussein held a meeting of his ruling Revolutionary

Command Council and afterward issued a statement calling on the government of Oman, where the vessel was being diverted, to release the ship.

The U.S. deputy chief of mission, Joseph C. Wilson 4th, canceled several appointments Wednesday and Thursday and was reported by his staff to be at his residence with an unspecified illness.

The meeting between the Iraqi leader and the ambassadors from nations who will be represented on the UN Security Council in the new year was the climax of a week of consultations that Western diplomats have believed would precede Iraq's pivotal final efforts to avert war and win some guarantees for the future security of Mr. Hussein's regime.

A Foreign Ministry official said 14 ambassadors met with Mr. Hussein Wednesday night to receive his instructions on their diplomatic initiative in the new year.

Western officials said 20 to 25 ambassadors had been recalled for consultations.

"Iraq is ready for serious and constructive dialogue based on mutual respect, but rejects the trend of arrogance, vanity and the imposition of will which the American government tries to use," the official Iraqi press agency quoted Mr. Hussein as telling the ambassadors.

Western officials said it was likely that the ambassadors would seek to redouble efforts in world capitals to build pressure for a dialogue between Washington and Baghdad in which Mr. Hussein could make whatever final case he intends to make before he reveals his decision on whether he will pull out of Kuwait by the Jan. 15 deadline set by the United Nations.

An editorial in the Thursday edition of the government-run Baghdad Observer claimed the kind of victory for Iraq that many Western analysts have associated with a face-saving endgame for Mr. Hussein.

In its editorial, the newspaper said that Mr. Hussein's crusade to make before he reveals his decision on whether he will pull out of Kuwait by the Jan. 15 deadline set by the United Nations.

All the credit should go to Iraq which has for the first time forced the U.S. to bow, albeit slightly this time, to an international storm," the newspaper said.

Gulf Ship Searches: Droll Moments, Dangerous Uncertainty

By Molly Moore

Washington Post Service

ABOARD USS SAMPSON, in the Red Sea — Lieutenant Eric Alfaro's heart races each time he straps a pistol on his hip, grips the rope handle of a swaying pilot's ladder and clambers up the steep hull of a foreign merchant ship that has been challenged by his captain.

"You just have no idea what to expect when you reach the top of that ladder," the boarding team officer said. "I'm always a little bit afraid when I go on board."

Lieutenant Alfaro and his armed 12-member squad are among the front-line enforcers of the United Nations trade embargo against Iraq. In the last four months, 713 merchant ships plying the Red Sea, Gulf and northern Arabian Sea have been searched.

Teams have crossed the choppy seas in battered whale boats, or U.S. Navy SEAL (Sea-Air-Land) commando units have slid down ropes from helicopters to land on a deck.

They have encountered hostile merchants, a boatload of sheep, a drunken crew mourning the death of the ship's cook and more huge rats than they care to recount.

Armed with hammers, crowbars and metal cut-

ters, they have pried open thousands of containers of car parts, military hardware and household goods. They have inspected tons of foul-smelling fertilizers and investigated hundreds of containers of chemicals.

Most Iraqi merchant ships took refuge in Middle East harbors in the early days of the interdiction efforts and have stayed there. As a result, U.S. and other naval vessels have had to bar only 30 vessels trying to enter or leave ports in the region.

Most of the diversions have resulted from incomplete cargo information or contradictory destination details. Only five of the vessels contained shipments bound for Iraq, according to U.S. Navy authorities. But tension remains high.

"If somebody were really intent on setting a trap, it would be a death trap," said Captain Joseph S. Mobley, who commands the aircraft carrier Saratoga, mother ship of a battle group that has done policing work in the northern Red Sea.

More than 90 percent of all the boardings have occurred in the northern Red Sea, at the entrance to the Gulf of Aden, passageway to the Jordanian port of Aden, the primary docking point for Iraq's sea trade.

The U.S. warships, as well as combat vessels from a half-dozen other nations, are assigned operating areas with nicknames like Toto, Oz, Wizard and

Emerald City, the creation of an admiral responding to one staff aide's observation that "I don't think we're in Kansas anymore," a quote from the movie classic "The Wizard of Oz."

A few vessels, particularly those operated by Iraqi crews, have refused to stop even after warning shots. U.S. officials said some Iraqi merchant masters had told them President Saddam Hussein had threatened to execute any merchant commander who stops his vessel.

But rather than firing disabling shots at ships that refuse to stop, the Navy dispatches its SEAL commando teams to forcibly board the vessels.

"The SEALs are the 'make my day' kind of guys," said Ensign Thomas Owens, who heads the coast guard law-enforcement unit assigned to the Sampson boarding team. "That gets their attention."

Commander William D. Sullivan, in command of the Sampson, said most of the ships that refused to stop "are found to be innocent—they're just being stubborn."

Once the teams board the vessels, Ensign Owens said, "a lot of crews are offended by weapons being drawn on them."

"They say, 'We're not prisoners. You can't treat us like this.'"

Navy officials say crews of most merchant vessels, although irritated by the intense searches that can

take up to eight hours, have grudgingly come to accept the delay.

"Everyone knows they're going to be stopped," said Captain James B. Hinkle, commander of the Maritime Interdiction Forces in the Red Sea. "One ship that transits the area frequently told us it had been stopped eight times in the past three months."

Search teams, composed of security units, U.S. Navy officers and U.S. Coast Guard law-enforcement detachments trained in drug interdiction, are often confronted with unpleasant, if not dangerous, situations aboard the trading ships.

When the Sampson's boarding team went to inspect a suspicious merchant ship at 1 A.M. a few weeks ago, members found a rowdy crew.

"The crew was drunk as skunks, and the master was passed out in his bed," Commander Sullivan said. "I didn't want my guys going inside the skin of that ship with some drunk liable to pick a fight."

After delivering a stern warning about sea safety, the Sampson team left, and the ship was allowed to continue.

The team from the U.S. guided missile cruiser Biddle has become legendary for its inspection visit to a vessel carrying 5,000 sheep. When the malodorous team returned to the Biddle, the warship's crew ordered them hosed down on deck before they could go below.

Jordanian Army Holds Maneuvers While Israel Keeps Military on Alert

By William Tuohy

Los Angeles Times Service

JERUSALEM — The Jordanian Army has been holding large-scale military maneuvers along the mountain ridges overlooking the Jordan Valley, Israeli government sources reported Thursday.

The exercises, involving most of the Jordanian Army, are apparently designed to demonstrate the kingdom's military readiness as the Gulf crisis moves toward a "flash point," according to a senior Israeli official.

In response, Israel has maintained a full alert among specialized forces that would be in the forefront of any Israeli reprisal in case of attack by Iraq or Jordan, the official added. The Israeli military, however, has not called up any reserves, the official said.

In Amman, the Jordanian government would say only that its forces are on alert, but insisted the military moves are not a preparation for attack but a defense exercise to prepare for a hypothetical strike by Iraq.

The Israeli public has become unsettled in recent days by threats from President Saddam Hussein of Iraq that he will draw Israel into any conflict resulting from a U.S.-led military assault to drive the Iraqis out of occupied Kuwait.

The air force, anti-missile artillery and other frontline units have been on a constant degree of readiness. But reports that the Israeli armed forces are on a full-scale alert are overdrawn, sources said.

The Jordanian Army has been conducting the major exercises for the last several days, the Israeli government source said, and in response Israel has taken undisclosed steps to show Jordan that it is well aware of the troop movements.

In past weeks, the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has warned King Hussein of Jordan that any attempt on his part to aid Iraq against Israel in any conflict would be met by fierce retribution.

According to an official, the pressures are mounting on Israel because Iraq is "raising the stakes" with the approach of Jan. 15, the UN-imposed deadline for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait or face the use of force.

An Israeli response to an Iraqi attack would not necessarily be massive, depending on the nature of the provocation, Israeli officials indicated Thursday.

"If Iraq launches a conventional armed missile that explodes in an empty field, we won't necessarily respond in the same way we would if a chemical weapon landed in one of our cities, killing a lot of people," a senior source said.

The Israeli arsenal is believed to include nuclear weapons, deliverable by both missile and aircraft.

The United States is taking seriously the Iraqi leader's threat to draw Israel into any war, reasoning that by doing so he might seek to reduce Washington's support among such traditional foes of Israel as Syria, which has contributed troops to the U.S.-led multinational force in Saudi Arabia.



Members of an Army National Guard unit from Brunswick, Georgia, leaving for extensive desert training in California.

Bush Says Gorbachev Sent 'Very, Very Good' New Year's Message

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Michael S. Gorbachev sent a message to President George Bush on Thursday that Mr. Bush described as "very, very good" after senior American officials had expressed concern to the Kremlin that U.S.-Soviet cooperation not be interrupted by the resignation of Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze.

Mr. Bush did not disclose the contents of the message, which was delivered by the Soviet ambassador to the United States, Alexander A. Bessmertnykh, in an unannounced morning session at the White House. Mr. Bush said he and the ambassador had had a discussion about the internal tumult in the Soviet Union and that "the main thing" he had learned was that "there is a determination" to proceed with economic and political change.

The message from Mr. Gorbachev was said to be a routine New Year's greeting, but it came in the context of U.S. concerns about continuity in U.S.-Soviet relations.

These concerns were expressed Monday to the ambassador by Robert M. Kimmitt, the U.S. undersecretary of state for political affairs, who is serving as the acting secretary of state while James A. Baker 3d is on vacation.

According to officials, Mr. Bessmertnykh was summoned by Mr. Kimmitt, who wanted to convey to Moscow the desire of the United States to move ahead on a range of issues that have been the subject of intensive discussion between Washington and Moscow, but on which there is not yet formal agreement.

The meeting Thursday between Mr. Bush and Mr. Bessmertnykh was said by officials to have touched on these concerns.

Russia Makes Christmas Legal Again

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — The parliament of the Russian Republic voted Thursday to make the Russian Orthodox Christmas, celebrated on Jan. 7, an official holiday for the first time since the 1917 Revolution.

The Russian Congress of People's Deputies made the decision in response to an appeal by the Patriarch Alexei II, according to Tass. It is effective only in Russia, which makes up two-thirds of all Soviet territory.

The parliamentary leader, Russian Khasbulatov, said that if other religious groups applied for recognition, "they will be respectfully considered in the same spirit."

IDEOLOGY: More Xenophobia

(Continued from page 1)

restaurants and private farms. A virulent anti-Western strain can be found in books published before Mr. Gorbachev's perestroika efforts by numerous radicals, including Vitali A. Korotich, the editor of the popular illustrated weekly Ogonyok, and Alexander N. Yakovlev, a former Kremlin adviser known as the "architect" of glasnost, or openness.

But those books have a dutiful Cold War feel, seeming to be works of rote obedience to an old, immovable party line, while the current anti-Western speeches and articles are clearly a credo of sorts.

The leading journals of the anti-Western faction are Molodaya Gvardia, a conservative literary monthly, Nash Sovremennik, another conservative literary monthly, and Literaturnaya Rossiya, the house organ of the conservative Russian writer's union.

Last month's issue of Molodaya Gvardia was a cornucopia of hatred: hatred of the West, hatred of Jews and "their agents," hatred of all that is "alien" to Russia.

"Dark forces" in the West, it said, were responsible for "sowing ethnic strife" in the Soviet Union and forcing Soviet troops into a war with Iraq "that will be in the interests of the Americans and the Zionists."

Boris N. Yeltsin's plan to make the Russian Republic a nuclear-free zone, the journal said, "will make Russia a janitor of the West."

At a recent congress of the Russian writer's union, conservative authors celebrated the army leadership while deriding Mr. Gorbachev. The Soviet leader's fame and following in the West was, the writers said, proof of his duplicity and failure.

Mr. Yakovlev and Mr. Shevardnadze were dismissed suddenly as "our Malta knights." Progressives such as Mr. Yeltsin, Mr. Korotich, the historian Yuri N. Afanasyev, and the economist Nikolai P. Shmelev and the sociologist Tatiana I. Zaslavskaya were denounced as traitors.

In interviews, some of Mr. Gorbachev's closest advisers, including a foreign affairs specialist, Georgi Shakhnazarov, and the chief of the general staff, General Mikhail A. Moiseyev, said that while there was still some suspicion of the West over Cold War propaganda, the opinion was still in the minority in the leadership.

As if to dramatize the post-Cold War "new thinking," the Foreign Ministry announced Thursday that Western reporters would now be allowed to visit many cities that had been closed for years.

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Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

The Children of Iraq

A report that the embargo is hurting the children of Iraq has come from International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, a group that received a Nobel Peace Prize for publicizing the dangers of war. It is an unsettling report, based on a trip to Baghdad by five members of the group, and deserves to be taken seriously. Obviously the Iraqi government seeks to make political capital out of the reported suffering of its children. Its evident purpose is to break the embargo. But its purpose would not excuse the willful infliction of harm on children.

International Physicians was told that "no vaccines, no medicines" are reaching Iraq, and that the infant mortality rate has doubled. Though the effects on health are hard to confirm, there seems little reason to doubt that some civilian shortages of milk, formula and medicines are developing. But who is responsible? In imposing the embargo, the United Nations kept open loopholes for medicine and food. These could be sent in under its supervision. The United Nations would determine Iraq's civilian needs and make sure supplies were distributed in accordance with them.

It is possible that the embargo may be cutting off some permitted deliveries as well

as proscribed ones. But Saddam Hussein has taken a political decision not to accept UN authority over medical shipments or anything else; he regards the United Nations as a wicked body suborned by the United States. He himself must be held responsible for not availing himself of the means — a request to the United Nations — of bringing in necessary civilian supplies. As his imports of chemical and nuclear weapons materials indicate, moreover, he is not unpracticed in the ways of circumventing international trade controls.

All this is grist for the argument over whether an extended international embargo can help move Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. From the start, one cynical tactic open to him has been to assert that the embargo, while it does not undermine his military capacity, does hurt civilians. His boasting and briefing of the doctors' mission indicates he has begun to make a display of the alleged impact and to try to shift the blame for it to the embargo. Nothing in his copious record of disregard for the rights of his unconsented subjects suggests this would give him qualms. Others meet their obligations by pointing to the channels he could easily use for relief.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Keep Yugoslavia Whole

Look at what there is of a bright side in Yugoslavia, where disintegration appears even likelier after the overwhelming pro-independence vote in Slovenia. Each of the struggling federations' republics now has, through a multiparty election, a government that speaks for its people — no small feat in a previously one-party Communist state. Compared with all other East European states, this one has progressed in economic reform and in economic ties with the West. This gives Yugoslavia a real incentive not to kill the golden goose by splitting up. An optimist would say the stage is well set for talks among the republics on replacing the present system of unified rule from Belgrade by a looser confederal structure. On this the future of Yugoslavia depends.

Can the Yugoslavs do it? Westerners come more easily to sympathy for the country's more Westernized parts, Slovenia and Croatia. But wiser heads even in these republics recognize the tremendous risks in trying to go it alone. Their economies, advanced by Yugoslav standards, are retarded by the West's. Protection of fellow ethnic residents in other Yugoslav republics would be a miserable problem. But Slovenia and Croatia

can hardly be expected to abide by Serbia's bullying ways. The Serbian leadership is pursuing a reckless course of challenge to the republics to its west, repression of the majority-Albanian region of Kosovo and disdain for the imperatives of economic reform. The Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic has yet to take advantage of a historic opportunity to serve Yugoslavia as a whole.

Yugoslavs who relish the idea of redrawing internal frontiers should recall that six of the country's seven neighbors harbor dormant territorial claims against it. Some of these claims, including Greece's and Bulgaria's on Macedonia and Albania's on Kosovo, could get serious. The West sits by, reluctant to offer hand or word. This is not enough. Yugoslavia has dismissed the suggestion of consultation on crisis prevention with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The CSCE should quietly be urging Belgrade to think again. Europeans should be making Yugoslavia aware that they are prepared to welcome the country into continental institutions but that they can offer no comfort at all to prospective shards. The burden is on Yugoslavs to save their country.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

What She Accomplished

In speaking of his daughter Nancy 13 days ago, Lester Cruzan called her "a 25-year-old kid." Nancy Cruzan was actually 33, but not in her father's mind. It was in January 1983 that Mr. and Mrs. Cruzan lost the pretty, lively woman they had raised. Since then they had been looking at the shell of their child: a human being in a hopeless vegetative state, subject to diarrhea, vomiting and seizures and fed by a stomach tube.

On Dec. 14, the tube was removed, and peacefully, Nancy was able to die the peaceful death for which her parents had long sought court permission. Connected to the feeding tube, she might have outlived them — or perhaps "outlasted" is more appropriate — for decades. Now, because of a decision from the U.S. Supreme Court, Lester and Joyce Cruzan could lay their daughter to rest at last.

When Nancy Cruzan's car overturned on a country road nearly eight years ago, the 15 to 20 minutes before paramedics could restart her heart starved her brain of oxygen. Though she could breathe, she could never again think. It is tragedy when parents have to fight for a loved one's life; the Cruzans had to fight for Nancy's death. Three years ago the Missouri Supreme Court rejected their plea that the feeding tube be removed, saying the state's right "to promote life" was virtually absolute. The Cruzans went to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In June 1990, in its first right-to-die case, the court found that constitutional liberty included the right to refuse medical attention even when it could prolong or preserve one's

life. But the court left it up to the states to decide that right to people who had not claimed it in clear and convincing terms. "The . . . challenging task of crafting appropriate procedures for safeguarding incompetent liberty interests," Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote in her concurring opinion, "is entrusted to the 'laboratory' of the states." Sadly, Nancy Cruzan could no longer claim anything whatsoever, and a Missouri court had already discovered a friend's claim that Nancy had told her she didn't ever want to live like a vegetable.

In August the Cruzans won a new hearing, predicated on similar testimony from three more of Nancy's friends; and in September the state said it would no longer contest their efforts to end her life. A judge, alluding to the Cruzans' "clear and convincing evidence," ordered the tube removed. As Nancy Cruzan approached the end of her life, demonstrators prayed, sang and even stormed the hospital. But her death was peaceful, although a few nurses, exceptions to a staff strongly supportive of the Cruzans, hoped it would not be — a fitting punishment, they said, for her parents.

If Nancy Cruzan truly lived only the first 25 years of her life, the remaining 8 were remarkably productive. She is responsible for a court decision that, should every state accept Justice O'Connor's challenge, will free countless Americans of some of the fears attending death. "I think this is quite an accomplishment for a 25-year-old kid," her father said, "and I'm damn proud of her."

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

Bullying Seems Likely

When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power less than six years ago he believed a little tinkering would be enough to reanimate the Soviet system. What was needed was *uskorenne*, or acceleration, he declared. That slogan soon was abandoned in favor of *perestroika* when it became clear the Communist state needed a more thorough overhaul. Now another phase is beginning. Radical reform seems likely to be replaced by Gorbachevism, a centralized regime tightly controlled by a collective of Communist disciplinarians under the president's chairmanship.

Gennadi Yanayev, the vice president-designate, said as much: "My main fight will be against a political bacchanal and vandalism, but by using democratic means, not by repression." Equally important was another of his declarations: "I am a convinced Communist to the depths of my soul." For any-

one needing a translation, here is what he meant: The time of political pluralism is over. Where no legal basis exists for curtailing dissent, bullying will be used.

The KGB chief, Vladimir Kryuchkov, has detailed the philosophy of the hard-line disciplinarians. In a recent *Izvestia* interview, he was asked how he would go about closing "destructive" newspapers, if they had violated no laws. "Laws cannot think of everything," he said and went on to explain that besides laws, civic norms based on "patriotically and ethically correct upbringing" should determine what is permissible.

It would be tragic if the pluralism of recent times comes to such an end. The fight is not over. Still, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation looks more and more like the end of a man who did not want to lead legitimacy to a retreat from reform — a retreat he felt was sure to come.

—The Baltimore Sun.

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Thursday's Closing
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press.

State names elsewhere. via the Associated Press

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Year	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030
1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	

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BUSINESS/FINANCE

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WALL STREET WATCH

Amid Gloom, It's Time To Buy Housing Stocks

By Floyd Norris
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — U.S. housing starts are at their lowest levels since 1982, and home builders are suffering, with bankruptcies expected among the weakest of them. There is talk of a real estate bust that in magnitude will rival the post-World War II boom.

But, in the face of that stream of bad news, the stock prices of home builders are rising sharply. In the last month, an index of shares of home building companies has climbed 28 percent. Many investors, it would appear, do not believe the gloomiest of the forecasts.

The rise in prices has an obvious explanation. Interest rates are coming down as the Federal Reserve tries to end the recession that most economists say began some time this year.

Lower interest rates traditionally presage a revival both in building and in buying, but housing starts have lagged, and the general consensus is that they will continue to do so, as prices fall and banks hold off from making mortgage loans.

Quarterly earnings will be awful, said Barbara Allen, the housing analyst at Kidder, Peabody, referring to profits for both the current quarter and for the first three months of 1991.

She added that some privately held builders were likely to be forced into bankruptcy. But she said that by spring, home buying is likely to rise, and the stock prices of the leading public companies will take off. She is recommending every home builder she follows.

The prices of most housing stocks bottomed at the end of October, but did not start to rally until a month later. The upturn has been led by some of the largest home builders, especially those with solid balance sheets. Lennar Corp., Kaufman & Broad Home Corp., Ryland Group and Centex Corp. are star performers.

Companies most likely to benefit from an increase in demand have access to the banks and can get credit to step up building, Ms. Allen said in an interview.

EVEN WITH the fall in construction, Ms. Allen added, most major builders will show profits for the current quarter, although the earnings will be sharply below those of a year ago.

Lennar, a major builder in Florida, has been the leading performer since Oct. 29, when an index of home building stocks bottomed at 48 percent of its level at the start of 1990. Lennar shares are up about 75 percent since then; they closed at \$17, up 12.5 cents, on Thursday.

Ms. Allen noted that Lennar has one of the strongest balance sheets in the industry, with debt making up only 29 percent of capital at the end of the third quarter. Like almost every other builder, Lennar continues to sell well below book value, which is almost \$27 a share.

The bearish case has held that book values will come down as home builders are forced to write down the values of unsold houses and, most importantly, the value of real estate awaiting development. But share buyers evidently have decided that risk is worth taking.

The index, which includes 10 home builder stocks and is weighted by market capitalization, is up 41 percent since Oct. 29, but is still off 31 percent since the end of last year.

The second-best market performer has been Kaufman & Broad Home Corp., the largest builder of houses in California, which slipped 12.5 cents Wednesday and another 12.5 cents Thursday, to \$9.125, but has risen 64 percent since the index bottomed.

In the 1981-82 recession, Ms. Allen noted, the best time to buy housing stocks was just as the trend in housing construction, measured on a year-over-year basis, turned up.

Such a turn may have occurred in November, when housing starts were reported at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 1.13 million units. That was 16 percent below the level of the previous November, but it was up from October's rate of 1.03 million, which was off 27 percent from a year earlier.

In Advertising World, Pan-European Often Means American

By Ronc Tempest
Los Angeles Times Service

PARIS — A current television commercial for Dutch radios is set at a railroad crossing in the Arizona desert. A French TV advertisement for cookies features a blonde, giggly American girl on a beach somewhere in the United States.

Razor blades are being hawked on French television by European actors wearing American football helmets. A line of French cars is being promoted these days in a highly stylized TV commercial filmed on a lonely highway in Southern California. The accompanying music for the car commercial is an American pop tune, "On the Road Again," by Canned Heat.

A visitor to Europe these days might be astonished to see how American themes and images dominate television and movie commercial advertising. From cookies to razor blades, from beaches to cars, America is increasingly being sold to Europeans by Europeans.

American advertising icons like the Marlboro man and the clean-cut Coca-Cola youth have been familiar faces on European screens for decades. But the widespread use of American settings for European products is something new.

The main reason for the "America Sells" trend is simple: In the critical youth and young adult market (ages 15 to 25), the American popular culture is more dominant than ever.

"The movies they like best are American," said Claire Hakmi, television product director for a French ad agency. "All the sportswear they want is American or modeled on American styles. The sneakers they wear are American. The sweat shirts they wear are American."

The fashions are dictated by the powerful American communications industry, but they also represent a casual, open quality that offers a break from the straitlaced dress and behavior strictures of traditional Europe. "It's the *chic nonchalant* — the relaxed attitude — of the Americans that attracts them," said Jean-Jacques Sibille, a French advertising executive.

But there is also a more subtle factor behind the Americanization of television and movie trailer advertising on the Old Continent. As Western Europe moves closer to the dream of creating a single unified market in 1992, advertisers are struggling to find universal, pan-European themes that work in all 12 European Community countries.

Experience has shown them that Italian motifs do not necessarily sell soap in Britain; with some exceptions, French themes do not work in Germany.

"The German doesn't really want to hear what the French guy has to say about razor blades," said Barrington Hill, an American advertising executive based in London. "But he will listen to an American."

Using American themes lets European advertisers bypass historical nationalism and enmities.

"If you borrow an American atmosphere," said Mathieu Loria, director of European advertising for Philips NV, "it neutralizes the typical European cultural differences. If you filmed a commercial in Italy, for example, no matter how hard you tried to be 'pan-European' you would still probably end up with some Italian influences that might make it difficult to sell something in France or other European countries."

Mr. Loria supervised one of the most blatant uses of Americans to sell European products: a recent television and movie commercial for electric shavers, filmed in the American Southwest, that even features an American flag.

Pervasive American culture has been adopted as a kind of bridge language among European cultures. All the major European countries have American television series on their private and public networks. American cinema is popular everywhere. With global cable networks like Atlanta-based CNN, many Europeans have regular access to American accents and views.

In addition, the ambivalence and resentment that once marked European attitudes toward the United States, particularly during the Vietnam War, have largely evaporated.

"The United States remains a myth that makes people dream — especially the young," said Eric Barontin, the executive in charge of Peugeot's recent campaign filmed in Southern California and using "On the Road Again."

Commented Christine Cella, a buyer for Cheyenne, a chain of trendy French stores that sells American Southwestern-style furnishings and clothes in France: "I think what fascinates the French about America is the space — one has the feeling of escape there. France is a beautiful country but small. In the States, you have an impression of diversity. It's a dream. It's magic."

In fact, the America that is being used to sell things to Europeans is a mythological America of the past, without many contemporary complications and problems.

A pioneer in exploiting this mythic theme — in fact, the trend-setter of the recent series of similar European ads that fall into what is being called the "pickup-truck genre" of commercials — was the London office of the New York-based agency Bartle, Bogle & Hegarty.

Beginning four years ago, the agency launched an innovative European campaign for Levi Strauss, the U.S. jeans manufacturer. The current commercial features a young man in jeans driving a battered pickup down a typical two-lane American highway, circa 1955.

Global Computer Industry Is Facing a Shakeout

By Leigh Bruce
International Herald Tribune

In the next decade's computer wars, the race will be won by efficient, tightly focused, customer-oriented companies, analysts and executives say. The smoothies like IBM and Digital Equipment Corp. will suffer.

The loosening grip of traditional computer makers, which virtually created the industry, is due to three interlocking trends, according to the experts: First, users increasingly demand that systems be open, or standardized industry-wide; second, the price of computer power has fallen dramatically; and third, clients no longer want to buy computer systems, but rather seek integrated information-technology solutions based on an array of hardware, software and communications components.

"Power is moving to the consumer away from the engineer as a result of the personal computer," said Paul A. Stussman, a former senior executive with Xerox Corp. and a widely published expert on the industry.

"Faced with this change, vendors will inevitably be swept along, either passively or actively, but in any case inevitably," he added.

The cost-cutting efforts of some of the top names in the industry, including International Business Machines Corp., Digital Equipment Corp., Intel Corp. and others, are a direct result of that transition, the analysts said.

The merger and acquisition activity among computer companies, as well as renewed efforts to forge closer links between the computer and telecommunications industries — dramatized by American Telephone & Telegraph Co.'s hostile takeover bid for the fifth-largest U.S. computer manufacturer, NCR Corp. — are sharply focused. San Microsystems Inc., Compaq Computer Corp. and Tandem are often put in this category.

Software and service companies ranging from Lotus Development Corp. and Microsoft to integrators like Cap Gemini Societe and Andersen Consulting inhabit the fastest-growing segment of the market, which is expected to further expand its share of the total industry.

The analysts and executives noted that the meshing of data processing and telecommunications that was predicted by big players in both industries a decade ago is at the heart of the transformation.

"Computer technology is creeping into telecommunications, and vice versa, in a subtle way," pointed out Eckhart Pfeiffer, president for Europe and international operations at Compaq Computer Corp.

But he and others said they doubted renewed attempts to merge the two industries, like the NCR-AT&T battle, would be any more successful than similar plans during the last decade.

They acknowledged that many of the basic technologies that go into telecommunications and computer systems are identical, but pointed out that the sum of the parts in each case resulted in vastly different businesses. "Running a communications network is not the same as building and selling a computer or designing a piece of software," pointed out Mr. Pfeiffer.

The analysts and executives said joint ventures and other focused cooperation between the two industries, like that being explored by IBM and British Telecom in global network services, were more likely to bear fruit.

In the meantime, many companies face wrenching changes to bring their costs in line with the industry's narrowing margins and to adjust to the new market, where users have begun to seize control.

U.S. Posts Steep Fall In Orders

Durables Figure In Record Plunge

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Orders that U.S. manufacturers received in November for long-lasting durable goods, like automobiles, computers and steel, fell a steep 10.5 percent, matching January's record decline, the Commerce Department reported Thursday.

The drop in orders, which is a key indicator of future production and employment levels in manufacturing, was much larger than analysts had expected. It was concentrated in the transportation industry, where orders for airplanes and vehicles plummeted 27 percent from the month before.

But declines were registered by most other industries as well, and economists said the report confirmed that the U.S. economy would continue to slump in the first quarter of 1991.

"I think this is the final nail in the 'no-recession' coffin," said Robert Dedrick, chief economist at Northern Trust Co. in Chicago. "This series had been hanging up there nicely and had been refusing to give ground. It had been one of the things optimists pointed to and now it's gone."

Meanwhile, the latest survey of consumer attitudes by the Conference Board, a business research organization in New York, indicated that consumer confidence had stabilized at a low level after plunging between July and October.

The board's consumer confidence index for this month was 61.3, down only slightly from the October and November readings, but far below July's 101.7 figure. The index's base year is 1985, when it was 100.

The huge decline in consumer confidence, which occurred in the wake of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August, has been blamed by many analysts for triggering the current U.S. economic downturn.

The large increase in gasoline and home heating-oil prices that followed the invasion reinforced consumer worries and caused them to cut back on their spending.

Some analysts regard the downturn as a consumer-led recession and say the key to ending it will be an improvement in consumer attitudes. And that could require resolution of the crisis over Kuwait, they believe.

Bofors Faces Just How Vulnerable Are U.S. Banks?

By Stephen Labaton
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — U.S. banking regulators and most private economists say there is no sign of a calamitous collapse of the financial order, despite the steady decline in the banking industry's earnings and in the assets of the U.S. government program that protects depositors.

Bankers and bank regulators expect that the results from the fourth quarter, which ends Monday, will be bleak, and that 1991 will be disappointing as well, in large part because of the crippled real estate markets, where so many bank assets are tied up.

At least for now, however, officials do not foresee widespread failures among the largest U.S. banks, almost all of which will continue to post some profits.

As these institutions struggle through a difficult period, bank shareholders are likely to see their investments continue to lose value and their dividends cut.

Borrowers will find it harder and more expensive to get loans, as banks tighten lending standards and pass on the cost of any increase in deposit insurance premiums.

Yet any comparison with the savings-and-loan industry quickly shows that at this point, banking problems are not comparable.

"They are as different as chalk and cheese," Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady said Friday. "Many authorities on banking agree."

There is a very serious question of whether the thrift industry will survive. That is clearly not the case with banks.

H. Rodgin Cohen, Sullivan & Cromwell.

and banks," said Robert E. Litan, an economist at the Brookings Institution. "Certainly the bank regulators have been much better, and there is not any evidence of the same massive scale of fraud and insider abuses as at the thrifts."

Yet what makes the current forecasts about the relative good health of the banking industry unsettling is that even the latest official numbers may not be reliable.

That has led some economists and lawmakers to conclude that the banks are at the beginning of a crisis similar to that of the savings associations.

The regulators' forecasting record in the last few months has been poor, and they now acknowledge that they are unsure of precisely how deep the industry's hole may get.

"We are now where we were in the mid-1980s with thrifts," said R. Dan Brumbaugh Jr., a former economist at the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and a critic of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. "There continues to be a denial and understatement of the problems."

Another concern of some economists is that this is the first time the United States has entered a recession with more than 1,000 banks.

fund bet of the financial ability of healthy banks to pay for them. Regulators say they do not consider the largest banking companies, including Citibank, Chase Manhattan Bank, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. and Chemical Bank as likely candidates for failure in 1991, even though they have suffered severe setbacks.

These and other large banks have been taking painful steps — including dividend cuts, employee dismissals, increased fees and earlier recognition of losses — to avert their cautious against losses.

Some of these larger banks are expected to merge, but regulatory barriers have made that difficult. Banking laws require that the purchase of an institution by another bank be done only with cash or stock, not through debt.

Since the stocks of most of the big bank holding companies have been steadily declining and are now trading at their lowest levels in many months, the widely anticipated consolidation of the industry has not occurred.

Federal bank examiners say they are particularly concerned about faltering smaller institutions, many of them in the Northeast. Most notable of these are Bank of New England, and Goldome

CURRENCY RATES

Currency	Per \$	Dec. 27
Argentine austral	1000	12.50
Australian dollar	100	1.25
Belgian franc	100	36.36
British pound	100	1.65
Canadian dollar	100	0.75
French franc	100	6.55
German mark	100	1.36
Italian lira	1000	136.36
Japanese yen	100	100.00
Swiss franc	100	9.00
U.S. dollar	100	1.00

Source: Reuters. All rates are for New York. Rates for other cities are available on request.

INTEREST RATES

Instrument	Rate	Dec. 27
3-month T-bill	7.50%	7.50%
6-month T-bill	8.00%	8.00%
1-year T-bill	8.50%	8.50%
3-month CD	8.00%	8.00%
6-month CD	8.50%	8.50%
1-year CD	9.00%	9.00%

Source: Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Rates are for New York. Rates for other cities are available on request.

Key Money Rates

Instrument	Rate	Dec. 27
3-month T-bill	7.50%	7.50%
6-month T-bill	8.00%	8.00%
1-year T-bill	8.50%	8.50%
3-month CD	8.00%	8.00%
6-month CD	8.50%	8.50%
1-year CD	9.00%	9.00%

Source: Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Rates are for New York. Rates for other cities are available on request.

Asian Dollar Deposits

Instrument	Rate	Dec. 27
3-month T-bill	7.50%	7.50%
6-month T-bill	8.00%	8.00%
1-year T-bill	8.50%	8.50%
3-month CD	8.00%	8.00%
6-month CD	8.50%	8.50%
1-year CD	9.00%	9.00%

Source: Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Rates are for New York. Rates for other cities are available on request.

U.S. Money Market Funds

Instrument	Rate	Dec. 27
3-month T-bill	7.50%	7.50%
6-month T-bill	8.00%	8.00%
1-year T-bill	8.50%	8.50%
3-month CD	8.00%	8.00%
6-month CD	8.50%	8.50%
1-year CD	9.00%	9.00%

Source: Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Rates are for New York. Rates for other cities are available on request.

GOLD

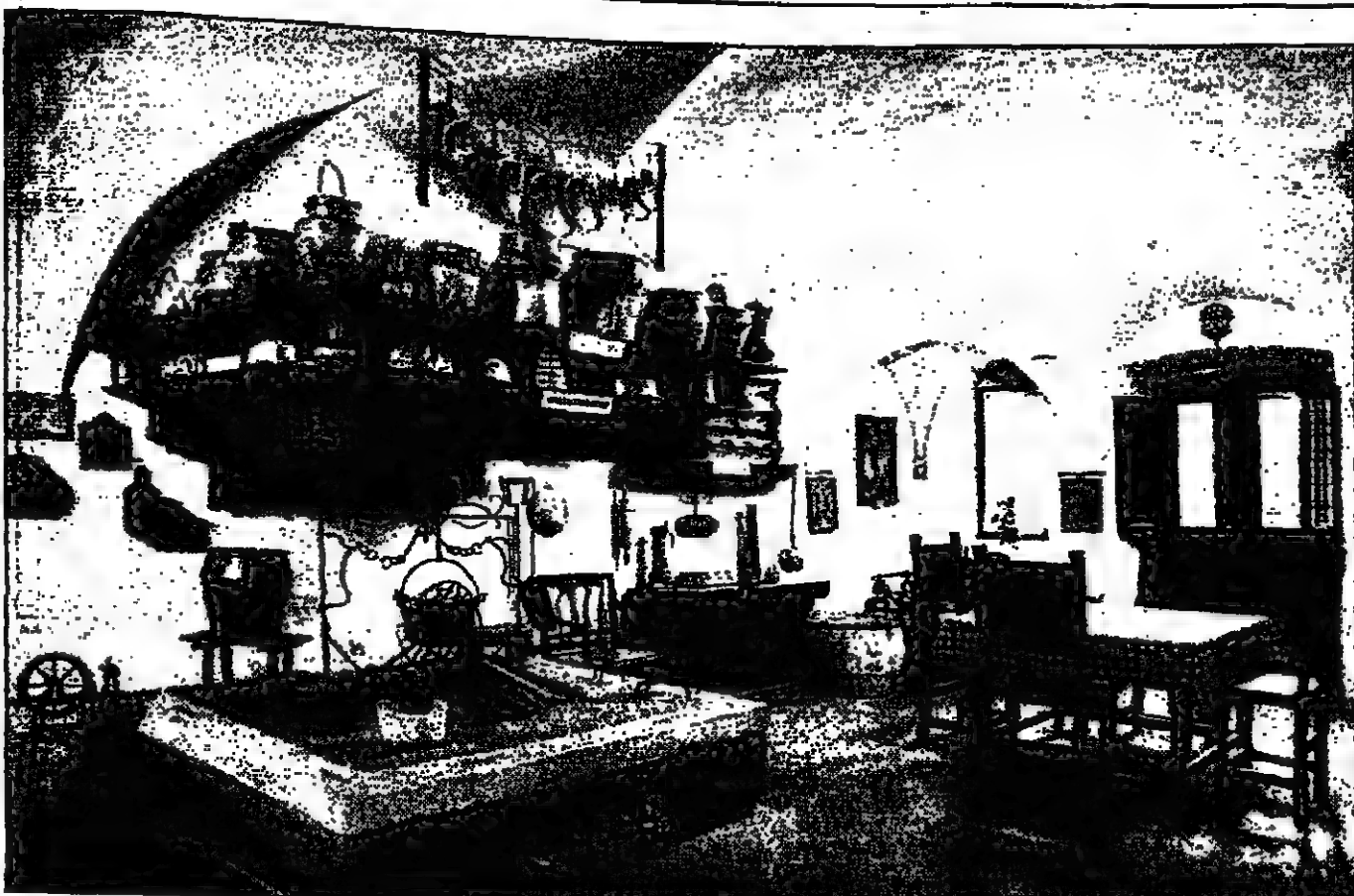
Instrument	Rate	Dec. 27
3-month T-bill	7.50%	7.50%
6-month T-bill	8.00%	8.00%
1-year T-bill	8.50%	8.50%
3-month CD	8.00%	8.00%
6-month CD	8.50%	8.50%
1-year CD	9.00%	9.00%

Source: Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Rates are for New York. Rates for other cities are available on request.

TRAVEL

International Herald Tribune

- ☐ Budget New Orleans
- ☐ Frequent Traveler
- ☐ Arts Agenda



A traditional farm kitchen exhibited in the Provincial Museum of History and Art, and a cluster of buildings in the center of Gorizia.

Gorizia: Divided City With a Fence No One Resents

by Paul Hofmann

GORIZIA, Italy — The broad Via San Gabriele changes its name into Erjavceva Ulica beyond a green wire fence in one of the few European cities that are divided by an international frontier, the one separating Italy and Yugoslavia, and probably the most pleasant one among them. The fence separating Gorizia from its former eastern suburbs is no Berlin Wall.

When East and West Berlin started moving toward reunification last year, national leaders of the Italian neo-Fascist party, clearly inspired by the momentous events in the old German capital, turned up at the Gorizia fence near the old Habsburg-style railroad station and made an attempt at cutting the wire links. Italian police chased them off while Yugoslavs on the other side were looking on, shaking their heads or laughing. The fact is that people on either side are quite comfortable with that fence.

Last spring, nevertheless, the mayors of the two half-towns, the Italian Antonio Scarnato and the Slovenian Sergij Pelkon, suggested publicly that their administrations should coordinate town services — like hospitals

and trade centers — and step up cultural collaboration as an experiment in East-West integration.

"The town was very nice," wrote Ernest Hemingway about Gorizia in "A Farewell to Arms." As an ambulance driver with the Italian Army toward the end of World War I he had been stationed there and came to like it. It is still "nice," despite the fence.

Now the capital of one of Italy's 35 provinces, offbeat Gorizia, sheltered by mountains on three sides, less than two hours by car or railroad from Venice, charms visitors with the palm trees and purple wisterias in its lush gardens, the historical castle on a hill in its middle, its general tidiness and the civility of its inhabitants.

Gorizia serves as a headquarters for white-water enthusiasts who trek upstream to challenge the rapids of the Isonzo River. Beyond the Isonzo, on its west, the town looks out on the plains of the Friuli region with its vineyards of merlot and riesling grapes.

Residents of the border areas within about six miles (10 kilometers) on either side of the Gorizia fence may cross it through gates at various points, producing just an identity card. Other Italians and foreigners pass at an international checkpoint at the Casa Rossa (Red House). A Villa Rossa is mentioned in "A

Farewell to Arms" (it is a disreputable house frequented by officers), but nobody in Gorizia today seems able to say whether it's the same spot.

On weekends, cars with Italian license plates line up at the international crossing; most of the people in them look forward to a flutter in the gambling casino of Nova Gorica. They will in all likelihood also tank up on the Yugoslav side because gasoline there is cheaper than in Italy.

NOVA GORICA is Slovenian for New Gorizia. It is a town of 30,000 inhabitants who live in clusters of utilitarian buildings and in small houses and villas on the hillsides all around.

People from Nova Gorica will cross the fence to buy blue jeans or appliances or other merchandise in Gorizia stores if they have enough lire. At the international crossing a large sign in Slovenian reads: "Mercato (the Little Market)," a Gorizia euphemism with a vast Yugoslav clientele. Quite a few residents of Nova Gorica commute to jobs in the prosperous Italian city.

Americans who want to enter Yugoslavia from Gorizia, or from anywhere else for that matter, need a

visa. It can be issued at the border for \$2, which may involve some waiting. Italians and most other Europeans require no Yugoslav visa.

The land on either side of today's fence was in the Middle Ages a field of counts who had come from the southern Tyrol and built their castle on the 220-foot-high hill overlooking the town, which was then called Gorz. From the early 15th century to the end of World War I Gorizia was a part of the Habsburg empire. The city found itself on the front line when Italy declared war on Austria-Hungary in 1915. In 11 murderous battles the opposing armies crossed and recrossed the Isonzo. Gorizia suffered grievous damage although both the Austrians and the Italians were trying not to hit its center very hard with their artillery because the military commands on either side hoped to install themselves eventually in its palaces and villas.

The hills embracing Gorizia are studded with military cemeteries and World War I memorials; the battles raged especially around the 1,998-foot-high Monte Sabotino, 13 miles northeast of the town, and Monte San Michele, altitude 900 feet, 30 miles to the south.

Gorizia and its hinterland passed to Italy in 1918.

Continued on page 14

By Cargo Boat Through the Lesser Sundas

Christian Steamer Is Slow But Colorful — Plus Mice

by Suzanne Charlé

SURABAYA, Indonesia — Tired of life on land, I decided to sail the seas of the Lesser Sundas, a chain of islands stretching 1,100 kilometers (680 miles) from the eastern tip of Java to Timor, just above Darwin in Australia. Many ships ply these waters, sleek tourist boats and the larger state-owned Peln cruisers, but I had decided on the Ratu Rosari, Queen of the Rosary, a cargo steamer run by the Catholics to service the islands of Nusa Tenggara, the largest Catholic stronghold in the world's most populous Muslim nation. As fate or faith would have it, my voyage — from Maumere on the northern coast of the island of Flores, west to Surabaya in east Java, usually a three-day passage — coincided with the Pope's visit to Indonesia in October 1989.

The morning after the Mass celebrated by the Pope I walked to the wharf. The usually sleepy harbor was alive with ships. My tender darted past the great bulks of pinnis, 30-meter (100-foot) wooden traders flying pennants with the Pope's picture. Jacques Cousteau's Calypso, taking time off from documenting the underwater life of Indonesia, was anchored near a decommissioned U.S. Navy ship, World War II-vintage, now flying the Indonesian flag and outlined in Christmas lights.

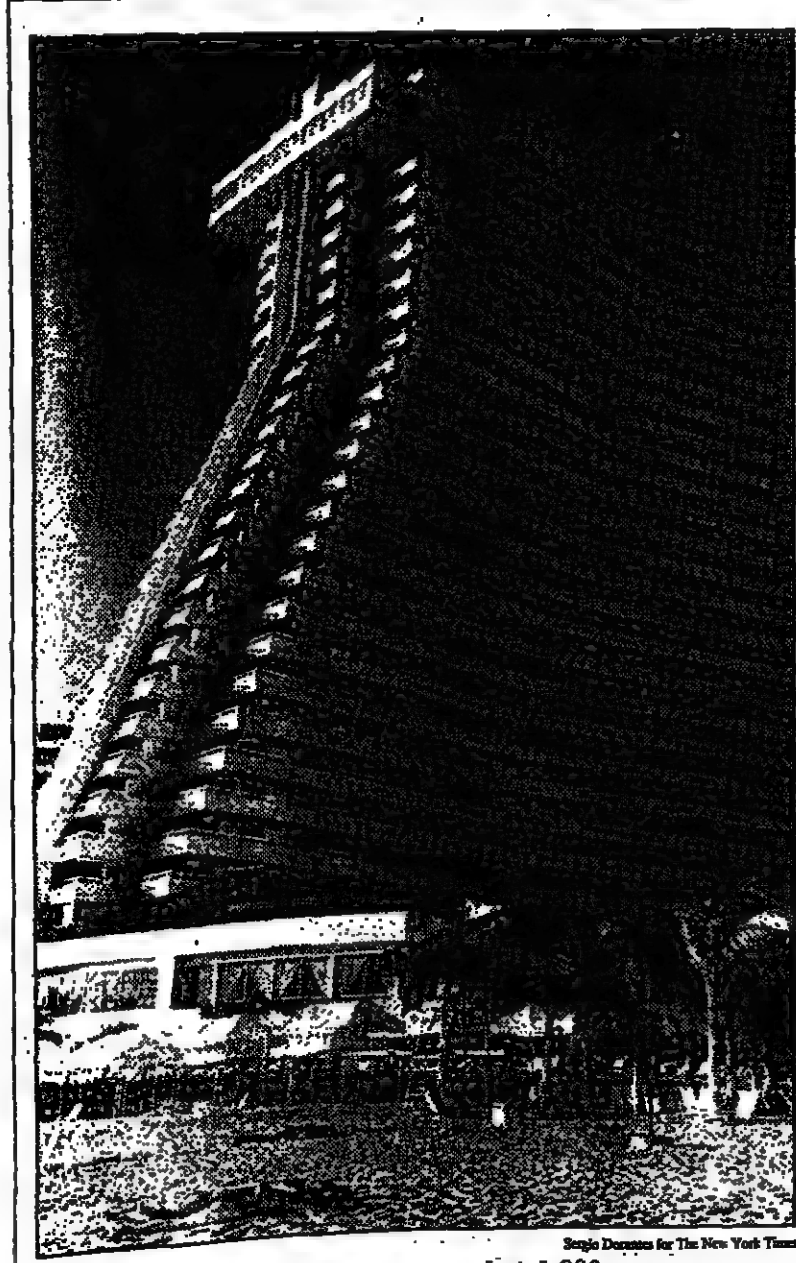
The Ratu Rosari, a 45-meter cargo and passenger ship built in 1964 in Bremen, Germany, glistened in the sun, its white halo shimmering on the waters. As soon as I reached the top of the ladder, the purser offered me a cup of thick, sweet Indonesian coffee, then showed me to my cabin, one of five tight little cells of dark wood with two tiny berths, thin mattresses and even thinner privacy curtains, and a tiny desk that served double duty as a footstool.

As he left, more visitors appeared, a mother mouse with her brood. I tried to shoo her away, but she soon reappeared. Not wanting to be squeamish, but still liking my privacy, I found the purser and told him of the stowaways. He sighed and allowed as how mice had indeed been a problem ever since the ship's cat had been shanghaied by one of the passengers. Perhaps, he suggested, the cabin just fore of mine might be better.

After changing cabins and stowing my bag where furry marauders could not climb, I climbed to the fantail to read "Moby Dick," a book I had chosen for its length (no movies on board, no pool or deck games) and because Melville, too, had sailed these waters and even mentioned Timor Tim, a whale that had haunted the straits frequented by the Ratu Rosari and its predecessors, the Stella Maris and the Santa Teresa.

Scattered like buoys amongst laundry lines and cases of oil and lifeboats, the crew chatted while two men in sarongs played a game of chess. One offered me a chair and told me I might as well relax. Although the boat was scheduled to weigh anchor early in the morning, it was unlikely we would make it to the wharf by noon; the harbor master was attending the funeral of the wife of the son of

Continued on page 14



The Acapulco Plaza Hotel has more than 1,000 rooms.

Once-Posh Mexico Resorts Ponder Future

by Robert Reinhold

PUERTO VALLARTA, Mexico — On the Mexican Riviera, this is a season of transition and renewal, a winter of uncertainty in paradise. In Puerto Vallarta, the once sleepy fishing village that first gained fame and Hollywood stars when Tennessee Williams' tale of decadence, "Night of the Igoua," was filmed nearby nearly 30 years ago, the talk among the American expatriates is whether the time-share industry will be the ruin of their tropical hideaway. A favorite hangout, the bar at the old Oceano Hotel, is gone now, turned into apartments and shops. Elizabeth Taylor has finally sold her dilapidated house in Gringo Gulch. It is to be converted into a bed-and-breakfast. Three weeks ago, Ava Gardner's aged beachboy lover, who played a skin diver in the movie, died.

Four hundred miles to the southeast, frenetic Acapulco, the now-faded grande dame of Mexican beach resorts, finally realized it was driving away tourists and responded by banishing peddlers and time-share salespeople from the beaches and streets. It has been cleaning up its polluted waters and filthy beaches and streets and sending out a squad of earnest young bilingual helpers to protect visitors against dishonest taxi drivers and restaurateurs. A mammoth new resort area is under construction on Diamond Point, just east of Acapulco Bay, and already the most fashionable restaurants and discotheques are moving toward it.

These are difficult times for Acapulco, and even for Puerto Vallarta, the two classic winter resorts that pioneered the concept of the fleshy tropical beach getaway a generation ago. Now they find themselves hard-pressed to compete in a world of planned mega-resorts like Cancun and Ixtapa, not to mention Hawaii and the Caribbean. Both have suffered drastic drops in the number of visitors in the last few years, shocking local authorities and hoteliers into action to repair the effects of years of excessive unplanned growth and urban neglect.

It may be that time has irrevocably passed them by as vacationers seek the next new destination. But their

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TRAVELER'S CHOICE

Nature Outing in Puerto Rico

Visitors to Puerto Rico can add a new stop to their itineraries in mid-February, when the Conservation Trust of Puerto Rico opens the Cabañas de San Juan Nature Preserve. The 316-acre (128-hectare) site, surrounded on three sides by the Atlantic Ocean on Puerto Rico's northeastern tip, is being preserved by the conservation group because of its unusually diverse tropical ecosystem: forest land, mangroves, lagoons, beaches, cliffs, offshore reefs and coral reefs. Another attraction in the preserve, a 110-year-old lighthouse built by the Spanish and now operated by the U.S. Coast Guard, offers the sweeping views of El Yunque rain forest to the west and across the Caribbean as far as St. Thomas. The preserve is a 45-minute drive from San Juan, and several hotels will offer day excursions. Tentatively, the area will be open Tuesday to Sunday, with admission of \$4. Reservations will be required.

Denmark Casinos Ring in the New Year

As the clock strikes midnight on New Year's Eve, slot machines will ring and roulette wheels spin as two casinos in Denmark open their

doors, the first legal gambling establishments in Scandinavia. To attract tourism and raise revenues, the Danish Parliament legalized casino gambling in June. The Danish minister of justice approved applications for six casinos to open in 1991. The two opening on Jan. 1 are in the SAS Hotel Scandinavia in Copenhagen and the Hotel Munkhøjsgården in Vejle, Jutland. Other casinos will open throughout the country in 1991.

A View to Remembrance in Hawaii

The observation point at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific in Hawaii has reopened after a two-year renovation. The area, which offers a panoramic view of Honolulu, was redesigned to reduce traffic congestion and to provide a more tranquil setting. Nearly 36,000 members of the military who died in World War II and the wars in Korea and Vietnam are buried in the cemetery, which is in the crater — known as the Punchbowl — of an extinct volcano. The \$2 million renovation, organized by the Veterans Administration, which maintains the cemetery, includes new parking areas for buses and cars, restrooms and enlarged viewing areas.

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TRAVEL

THE FREQUENT TRAVELER

A Glossary of Travelspeak

by Roger Collis

WHEN it comes to jargon, the world of travel can more than hold its own in the blit of neologisms, euphemisms and acronyms from the big league players in business and bureaucracy. As every self-respecting traveler knows, travelspeak, along with computerspeak, bizspeak, newspeak and doublespeak, has become a seminal force among jargon junkies everywhere.

More often than not travelspeak is pompous, oblique and baffling; sometimes it is expressive, useful and fun. One of my favorites is "my credit card has just maxed out." Which should remind you to carry the right color of plastic — "premium," "gold" or "platinum" cards. You'll also want to know where to find "ATMs" (automated teller machines). But don't forget your "PIN" (personal identification number) and don't expect to get the "cross rate" when you change money. Check on the "spread" between the "buy" and the "sell" rate, which can vary from 2 percent to 10 percent or more.

If you're looking for a cut-price ticket, your best bet might be a "bucket shop" (hence, "bucket and spade brigade") although any good IATA-appointed agent should be able to give you a discount on an official IATA fare (ask for a "consolidation" fare). Officially approved discount fares have names like PEX and SUPER-PEX (bookable up to departure). APEX (advance purchase), and a raft of come-on, or "deep discount" fares which means that the three seats available at this price are sold out by the time you book.

Check your ticket: "F," "P" and "A" are all codes designating first class. (Congratulations. For twice the price of business class you may get to enjoy the company of "frequent fliers" and "dead-heads," off-duty airline crews or various other "freeloaders" or "whackers.") "Y" or "C" means you are flying business class, or "club." Any coding from "K" through "Y" means economy or "coach."

This is known as flying in the "back of the bus" or "sardine class."

Your travel agent will call up fares and flights on his "CRS," or computerized reservations system. These are airline databanks that provide agents not only with the capability to sell seats on planes but to book hotels, car rentals,

trains and other travel services. CRSs are a powerful marketing tool and major source of revenue for airlines that can charge others a hefty fee to have their flights and fares listed.

Each airline tries to have its own CRS exclusively in travel agents' offices. Battle has been joined between the giant U.S. CRSs, SABRE (American Airlines), and APOLLO (United Airlines), and two consortia in Europe, GALILEO (which includes British Airways, Swissair, KLM and Alitalia) and AMADEUS (which includes Air France, SAS, Iberia and Lufthansa). Three airlines in the Asia-Pacific region (Cathay Pacific, Thai and Singapore Airlines) have a new regional consortium called ABACUS which competes with FANTASIA (JAL and Qantas).

A hot issue for travelers is "CRS bias." This results from the competitive advantage enjoyed by the

Economy is known as flying in the 'back of the bus' or 'sardine class.'

"host carrier" to favor its own flights. It can take several forms: "screen padding," achieved with "phantom flights" or "dual listing," "code sharing" (displaying a connection that involves a change of plane or change of "gauge" to a feeder line by giving it one flight number). Be aware that "direct" does not necessarily mean non-stop.

You might not know all the answers but it can pay to ask the right questions — especially if your agent has an "intelligent" terminal. "Oh, by the way, are there any fifth freedom carriers flying this route?" "Fifth freedom" is when the airline of one country has the right to carry passengers between other countries, for example, if you were to fly Air Lanka between London and Zurich (a flight that might not be listed on the CRS of your agent in London). If you're paying full fare, you might want to enquire about "MPM" (maximum permitted mileage) which allows stopovers at no extra cost, i.e. flying business class from London to Athens, you can stop en route in Paris and Rome.

Alternatively, if you don't need to stop over, save money by asking for a "point-to-point" fare, or per-

haps an "open-jaw" ticket (where you fly out to one city and back from another. If you're traveling at least halfway round the world, check out "RTW" (round-the-world) fares, which can save you up to 30 percent on normal business class and economy.

Renting a car, you might be better off with an "off-airport" firm (a short courtesy bus ride from the terminal) at a much cheaper rate than an "on-airport" hire. Also check whether the rate is fully "bundled" (including tax, "CDW" — collision damage waiver — and unlimited mileage).

At the hotel, make sure you get the "corporate" rate, which can save you 20 percent on the "rack" rate or "walk-in" rate. You may get to stay on the "executive level," or "concierge floor," with "personalized butler service."

If you fly business class, you are a "high yield" passenger. This means that you are a "nondiscriminatory" traveler, paying top whack for a flexible ticket and a few fiddles. Sooner or later, you will be a victim of "involuntary denied boarding," or "bumping." This is jargon for what happens when you are refused a seat on a flight for which you have an "OK," or confirmed reservation. It is a penalty imposed by the airline for the right to "no-show" (not to turn up for a flight on which you were booked). Every airline overbooks to compensate for the 15 to 20 percent of no-shows. This is the work of airlines' "yield managers" whose job is to maximize "load factors," or the number of seats filled.

CHANCES are you won't take off on time. This could be for "operational" reasons, meaning that the "equipment" hasn't left the previous stop, or that the plane has "gone technical." It may be due to "ATC" (air traffic control) congestion, in which case you will have lost your "slot." Then there's the old favorite, "about to be cleared for takeoff" (25 planes ahead of you on the runway). "Slight delay" can mean three to 100 pages of "War and Peace."

Then there is semantic jargon of space (a mystifying area of seat "pitch" (leg room), self-adjusting footrests, angles of recline, cabin "configurations," and other amenities). In some classes, you can expect "dedicated" cabins and other "dedicated" facilities, such as lavatories and lounges ("groundside" or "airside"), with varying degrees of dedication. But that's another story.

Cargo Cruise

Continued from page 13

the former rajah of the region, and all ships had to wait for his signature before leaving port. This is often the way things work in Indonesia: the obligations of a feudal past overshadow the requirements of the commercial present.

Finally, at 1 P.M., the Ratn Rosari tied up and for three hours passengers filed on. By 4 P.M. the deck was awash with huge, spiky jackfruits, chickens, feet bound, wings flapping, motorcycles, televisions, and noorries, small lime-green birds with bright red beaks.

Men, women and children, many carrying crucifixes wrapped in plastic, staked out their territory on the raised deck, lashing portable radios to the poles supporting the sheltering canopy.

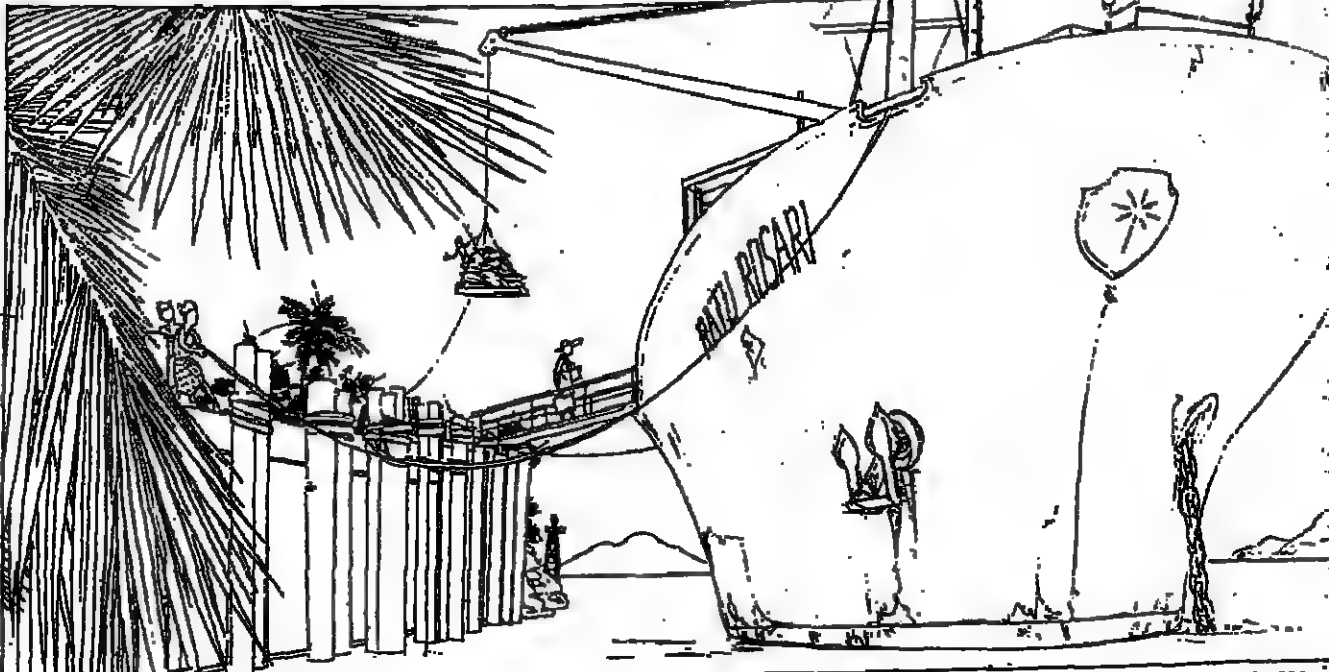
At 5 P.M. a young girl, bent with polio, was carried on board by a wave of nuns in blue habits. She was bound for a hospital in Surabaya, I was told.

Finally, the harbor master returned at 5:30, exactly the time on the permanently frozen church steeple clock. The Ratn Rosari was under way. A fellow passenger in a pet, a squat black hat worn by Muslim men, nodded at the church tower, smiling. "Allah's will," he said. Brother Mariamus Klein Koerkamp, who oversees the ship for the church, came up to the second deck. Tall and thin, Brother Mariamus at 71 is still erect and agile. Offering me a Green Sands, a beer cut with lemon soda, he told me he had been born in a farming village in the Netherlands and never sailed nor even saw the sea before he came to Indonesia by boat in 1947. During his first months of duty, on the Santa Teresa, he was constantly seasick. "But in the last 42 years, never again," he said simply.

At dinner a brief but hearty meal preceded by prayer then filled out with curries and stir-fried greens with chili peppers and garlic, mountains of rice and hot tea in glasses, one of the nuns made a shy comment about the mice in her cabin. I felt a twinge of guilt, but decided not to confess and instead went up to the second deck.

It was a velvet night, the heavens studded with stars, our wake flaming green white with phosphorescent sea life. Brother Mariamus, who came up to listen to the BBC on shortwave radio, told me that some nights had been illuminated by volcanoes.

But other trips, he said, had been more frightening. He had not been too long at sea when, cross-



David Johnson

ing between Laranuka and Timor, the 25-ton Santa Teresa sailed into a pod of whales. "The bull headed straight for us and attacked," Brother Mariamus recalled. "He was longer than the ship. We nearly broke in two, but luckily we didn't sink — she was a fine ship, made of redwood. No one had ever heard of a whale attacking a ship, but it happened: perhaps, because of our size and color he thought we were another bull after his females."

The next morning, schools of flying fish and dolphins heralded our route; occasionally, the dark shadow of a shark followed like a phantom. Laurens, one of the crew, from a village near the small port of Laranuka, spoke of his father, a fisherman, and how he could tell, just by standing in the sea up to his ankles, whether there would be a storm or not, and how, before the Catholic religion had

grown strong (there are about five million Catholics in Indonesia), the village held special ceremonies at planting and harvest times, thanking the sun, moon and stars.

At breakfast, Brother Mariamus said he would be leaving the ship at Reo for a month's retreat. His departure was delayed by an entire evening: rubber time was in effect and two large trading ships were at Reo's small pier, so the Ratn Rosari had to wait till one finished unloading.

THE ship left harbor the following evening and for 48 hours we sailed west, passing the Sape Strait between Flores and Lombok, where, according to Laurens, pirates used to lie in wait in tiny coves for slow-sailing traders. "Indonesian, Dutch, it didn't matter the nationality," he said. "In that way, you might say they were very democratic."

Because we arrived at the strait separating the island of Madura from the port of Surabaya at night, the captain ordered the crew to drop anchor. There are just too many small fishing boats to make a night passage into the harbor safe.

So early the next morning, as the mist rose to reveal the brightly colored Madura fleet, the Ratn Rosari steered into Tanjung Perak, two days behind schedule. Pilots in white shirts and shorts came aboard and maneuvered the ship past the 1930s style Dutch harbor master's house and huge cargo ships from Vietnam, Japan, Panama and Korea.

At the dock, workers in short wrapped sarongs and cut-off jeans rapidly unloaded the cargo, lugging the heavy sacks on their backs while the nuns nervously watched as hospital orderlies carried their charge to a waiting van. The Ratn Rosari had come home again, just

in time to start its next voyage of mercy and commerce.

The Ratn Rosari makes its fortnightly journey through Nusa Tenggara throughout the year, starting in Surabaya. Passage can be a bit rough during the monsoon, from December through February. A three-day trip from Surabaya to Ende on Flores costs about \$46 for a double cabin and meals. Reservations are recommended. Call the Reverend Stanley Piker (62-31-69671 or 616401) in Surabaya from 7 A.M. to 2 P.M. Monday to Friday or 7 A.M. to 1 P.M. Saturday, local time. You can also write to Father Piker at Jalan Raya Dr. Sutomo 9, Post Office Box 5210, Surabaya, Jawa, Indonesia. (DHL Courier service is more reliable than ordinary mail.)

Suzanne Christ, who divides her time between New York and Bali, wrote this for The New York Times.

Divided City Continued from page 13

and the city was split between Italy and Yugoslavia at the end of World War II. After a period of tension between the two countries, they have become increasingly relaxed in their dealings with each other, as the comings and goings at the Gorizia fence show. Yet a large part of the Italian armed forces is still concentrated in the nation's northeast. Many piazzas and gelato havens of Gorizia fill up in the evenings and on weekends with young men in blue jeans and with short hair — off-duty soldiers.

"The girls here are uppity; many of them won't even look at us," a tall Venetian in a denim jacket who said he was an army corporal complained as he was munching on an oversized pizza with mushrooms at La Tarantella, a place that is popular with defenders of the fatherland. Outside, in the Corso Italia, groups of young women were strolling up and down. "They are looking for some guy with a Porsche or a Ferrari," the corporal muttered.

The stately Corso Italia, lined with old horse-chestnut and plane trees, runs straight from the Italian railroad station (Gorizia Centrale) in the city's south to its center, where it narrows and, as Corso Giuseppe Verdi, becomes its principal business street.

Turn right at the Teatro Verdi, now a movie house, which looks like a scale model of the Teatro alla Scala in Milan. Italy's premier opera house and the former city theater of Gorizia were both built under the rule of Empress Maria Theresa in the second half of the

18th century. (The empress once sojourned in Gorizia.)

By way of Townhall Square walk to the old cathedral, which goes back to the 14th century. It was heavily damaged during World War I, and repaired and reopened in 1927. A plaque crediting the "Duce Mussolini" in Latin for the restoration has remained on a wall.

A winding street leads up the Castle Hill past graceful arched houses. The stroller will notice a bronze bust of the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio, a sometime visitor to Gorizia, on the right, and will enjoy the almost subtropical vegetation in the gardens on the hill. To live in one of the few old houses and restored villas in the Borgo del Castello, or Castle Hamlet, confers distinction in Gorizia. The small Santo Spirito (Holy Ghost) Church with twin bell towers was built toward the end of the 14th century; it is closed except for services on Sunday morning.

An elegant 17th century building, Palazzo Formentini, just below the church is the Provincial Museum of History and Art. Its 10 showrooms are dedicated to local traditions; on display are costumes, glassware, ceramics and other products of Friulan handicrafts, as well as a complete old farmers' kitchen.

The castle topping the hill, with its battlements and massive round towers, was erected on the spot where an ancient Roman watchtower rose. After the extinction of the line of the counts of Gorz it housed Austrian governors and later Italian military commanders. A

visit to the gaunt, ruined structure is worthwhile above all for the sweeping panorama of the mountains, the Isonzo River and the Friulan lowlands from its walkways and platforms.

Descending from Castle Hill, have a look at the Jesuit Church in the Piazza della Vittoria (Victory Square) in the northern part of the town. The two steeples of the imposing Baroque edifice are crowned with onion cupolas such as are common in Germanic and Slavic countries but unusual in Italy.

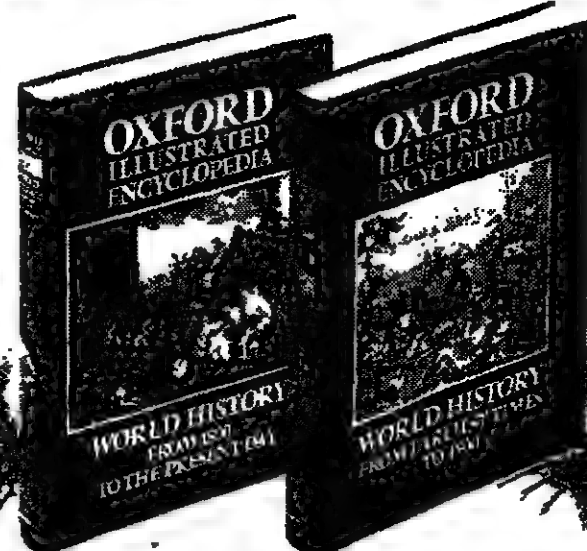
Further north is the Pinacoteca, Gorizia's picture gallery, in the Baroque Palazzo Azzurro. It contains paintings mostly by Friulan artists and a collection of Roman antiquities. Adjoining is a museum with World War I memorabilia.

Gorizia, enclosed in its frontier loop, has been spared the chaotic growth that many other urban centers in Italy experienced during the last few decades as people from the countryside and the deep south have been crowding in.

The town's population of 40,000 includes 5,000 Slovenian speakers who have their own schools and newspaper. Visitors coming from other Italian cities will be struck by the atmosphere of calm and courtliness pervading Gorizia. At intersections pedestrians wait patiently until the light changes even if no cars are in sight.

Paul Hofmann, the author most recently of "The Fine Italian Hand," wrote this for The New York Times.

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— hand delivery	fl.	1,650	825
— hand delivery	fl.	1,700	850
— hand delivery	fl.	1,750	875
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— hand delivery	fl.	1,850	925
— hand delivery	fl.	1,900	950
— hand delivery	fl.	1,950	975
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— hand delivery	fl.	2,750	1,375
— hand delivery	fl.	2,800	1,400
— hand delivery	fl.	2,850	1,425
— hand delivery	fl.	2,900	1,450
— hand delivery	fl.	2,950	1,475
— hand delivery	fl.	3,000	1,500
— hand delivery	fl.	3,050	1,525
— hand delivery	fl.	3,100	1,550
— hand delivery	fl.	3,150	1,575
— hand delivery	fl.	3,200	1,600
— hand delivery	fl.	3,250	1,625
— hand delivery	fl.	3,300	1,650
— hand delivery	fl.	3,350	1,675
— hand delivery	fl.	3,400	1,700
— hand delivery	fl.	3,450	1,725
— hand delivery	fl.	3,500	1,750
— hand delivery	fl.	3,550	1,775
— hand delivery	fl.	3,600	1,800
— hand delivery	fl.	3,650	1,825
— hand delivery	fl.	3,700	1,850
— hand delivery	fl.	3,750	1,875
— hand delivery	fl.	3,800	1,900
— hand delivery	fl.	3,850	1,925
— hand delivery	fl.	3,900	1,950
— hand delivery	fl.	3,950	1,975
— hand delivery	fl.	4,000	2,000
— hand delivery	fl.	4,050	2,025
— hand delivery	fl.	4,100	2,050
— hand delivery	fl.	4,150	2,075
— hand delivery	fl.	4,200	2,100
— hand delivery	fl.	4,250	2,125
— hand delivery	fl.	4,300	2,150
— hand delivery	fl.	4,350	2,175
— hand delivery	fl.	4,400	2,200
— hand delivery	fl.	4,450	2,225
— hand delivery	fl.	4,500	2,250
— hand delivery	fl.	4,550	2,275
— hand delivery	fl.	4,600	2,300
— hand delivery	fl.	4,650	2,325
— hand delivery	fl.	4,700	2,350
— hand delivery	fl.	4,750	2,375
— hand delivery	fl.	4,800	2,400
— hand delivery	fl.	4,850	2,425
— hand delivery	fl.	4,900	2,450
— hand delivery	fl.	4,950	2,475
— hand delivery	fl.	5,000	2,500
— hand delivery	fl.	5,050	2,525
— hand delivery	fl.	5,100	2,550
— hand delivery	fl.	5,150	2,575
— hand delivery	fl.	5,200	2,600
— hand delivery	fl.	5,250	2,625
— hand delivery	fl.	5,300	2,650
— hand delivery	fl.	5,350	2,675
— hand delivery	fl.	5,400	2,700
— hand delivery	fl.	5,450	2,725
— hand delivery	fl.	5,500	2,750
— hand delivery	fl.	5,550	2,775
— hand delivery	fl.	5,600	2,800
— hand delivery	fl.	5,650	2,825
— hand delivery	fl.	5,700	2,850
— hand delivery	fl.	5,750	2,875
— hand delivery	fl.	5,800	2,900
— hand delivery	fl.	5,850	2,925
— hand delivery	fl.	5,900	2,950
— hand delivery	fl.	5,950	2,975
— hand delivery	fl.	6,000	3,000
— hand delivery	fl.	6,050	3,025
— hand delivery	fl.	6,100	3,050

POSTCARD

Saving a Dragon Kiln

By Michael Richardson

International Herald Tribune

SINGAPORE — Chua Soo

Khim carefully centers the

lump of brown clay before setting

his potter's wheel spinning. Using

pressure from his fingers and

thumbs, he draws the clay into the

shape of a cylinder then gently

extends the top to form a large pot.

A worker, clad only in shorts,

carries the piece away on a wooden

base, placing it beside other similar

pots to dry under the eaves of the

open-sided workshop where doves

coo contentedly in rattan cages.

In the afternoon, when the bot-

tom sections made by Chua have

hardened, another skilled crafts-

man will come to add coils of clay

onto the top section of the pots.

The process will continue bit by bit

over several days to prevent the soft

clay collapsing under its own

weight. The finished product is

called a *huay kern*, a "big planter"

for ornamental shrubs and trees.

The potter exports them to Eu-

rope after they have been glazed

and fired in a dragon kiln, so-

named because its undulations re-

minded the Chinese, who first de-

vised the system more than 2,000

years ago, of the serpentine coils

and fire-breathing fury of the

mythical creature.

The kiln, which stretches for 42

meters (140 feet) up a hill, is the

only one left in Singapore, a re-

minder both of the island's links to

China and of a rural way of life that

has been swept aside to make way

for a modern city-state.

There was plenty of free land for

building a dragon kiln when Chua

Eng Chow, father of the four Chua

brothers and a sister who now run

the family pottery business, arrived

in Singapore in 1936 from southern

China at the end of a migration

that brought millions of impover-

ished Chinese settlers to Southeast

Asia in search of a better life.

He and 11 helpers took eight

months to construct the kiln, mak-

ing thousands of clay bricks by

hand and piecing them together to

form the tunnel-shaped structure.

When stoneware pots are

stacked inside and the entrances

sealed, a wood fire is lit at the lower

end of the kiln. As the smoke and

heat move up towards the chimney

at the upper end, more timber fuel

is dropped in through holes to help

raise the temperature to 1,300 de-

grees centigrade (about 2,370 de-

grees Fahrenheit).

Chua Eng Chow, now 70, be-

came a potter's apprentice at the

age of 12 in his home village near

Swatow. He has passed on his skills

to his sons and daughter. But Chua

Soo Seng, who handles the busi-

ness affairs of the business, says

that the enterprise is living on bor-

rowed time in Singapore.

The pottery is hemmed in on

three sides by a wave of dirt as high

as its roof. This wave, literally

threatens to swamp the kiln. The

Jurong Town Corp., a government

agency, has bulldozed the sur-

rounding area to put up factories.

The forest and open space where

Chua built his dragon kiln is now in

the heart of Ang Mo Kio, one of

many high-rise public housing sub-

urbs in modern Singapore.

Chua Soo Seng said that the

family had recently received a letter

from the corporation warning that

they would have to move unless

they paid a market-rate rent of

12,000 Singapore dollars (\$7,000)

a month. The present rent is a token

50 dollars and the family says it can

afford to pay no more than 3,000

dollars a month.

The Ministry of the Environ-

ment also wants a device to be

installed in the chimney of the kiln

to suppress smoke pollution.

A spokesman said that the Min-

istry of Information and the Arts

"sees merits in the continuation of

this kiln from the heritage and cul-

tural points of view, and is exploring

the possibility of interested parties,

apart from the present operator,

running it at the market rate."

Should this not prove feasible,

the ministry will look into ways of

preserving the dragon kiln as a cul-

tural relic, the spokesman added.

It is hard to see how the pottery

and kiln could continue to operate

without the cooperation of the

Chua family and their accumulated

experience.

Chua Soo Seng said that even if

the Singapore operation continues,

the family plans to build a new

dragon kiln on Bintan Island in

Indonesia, south of Singapore, to

take advantage of the cheaper land

and labor there.

He said that the family wants

to keep the Singapore kiln going but

that if the "government wants

money as well as culture, it cannot

have both of us."

SOS Racisme: Fight for Dignity

By Marlise Simons

New York Times Service

PARIS — When a bartender refused to serve a young Moroccan recently and called him "a dirty Arab," the customer threw a glass at him, hitting him in the head. The barman, a white Parisian, sued for assault.

The young Moroccan, in turn, is filing suit for racism. He stopped by the office of SOS Racisme, where young lawyers donate time to confront racial troubles in France.

Suppliants filing through the waiting rooms at different times include Vietnamese and Sri Lankan workers, students from Congo and Ivory Coast, men and women reporting the universal pain of discrimination: insults hurled at them in public places, employers and landlords who shun non-whites, police who are humiliating, rough or violent.

But many petitioners are French. Children of Arab immigrants, they may have little feeling for the fine points of the French language and are not yet imbued with the achievements of Napoleon or de Gaulle. But these "new French," the second-generation Arabs, were born or have lived most of their life in France, carry French passports and think of France as their home.

The trouble is that many "old French" see things differently. They regard France not as a nation that has absorbed many foreigners and their ideas, but as an ancient place shaped by one people and one dominant culture.

"As long as immigrants were Spanish or Italian or Polish, the myth of one culture could continue," said Harlem Désir, who heads SOS Racisme. "But in the last 25 years, newcomers have been brown and black. And they are not leaving."

It's very difficult for some people to bear a young Arab or African say, "I'm French." Just how difficult became clear this year when a government survey found that three out of four French people said there were too many Arabs in France, while one out of two said there were too many blacks.

More than 90 percent also conceded that racism was widespread in France, directed not only at the 8 percent of the population — about 4.5 million people — who are legal immigrants, but also at growing numbers of illegal migrants from the Arab world and Africa.

The SOS Racisme headquarters offers a telephone line of the racial sparks. In makeshift offices, young law students or volunteer lawyers give advice, help write letters, suggest legal steps or, in cases that are not clear-cut enough, offer sympathy.

A Sri Lankan student who held a night job in a modestly priced hotel reported that non-white guests were systematically refused rooms.



Harlem Désir, right, director of SOS Racisme, at a demonstration in Paris.

A young woman from Mali had come to crying. On entering a police station to present her papers, she said, she was searched and touched so roughly that her wrapped dress had fallen off, leaving her almost naked with several male policemen taunting her.

Jean Baptiste Ouanza, one of SOS Racisme's lawyers, had just attended a 15-year-old African boy, "a frail kid" who came to show a broken front tooth.

"Smashed by the police," the lawyer said. The youth said that when he had started bleeding, one of the policemen had pushed him aside, saying, "You probably have AIDS."

"Our police are very racist," Ouanza said. "That's a big part of the problem. He added that 'many vote Le Pen,' a reference to Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the far-right National Front, which preaches that France is for the French."

The police have in turn filed more than 30 complaints against Ouanza for "defamation" of the authorities.

As the issue of race and resentment against foreigners grows, it evokes two contrasting faces of France, one that social critics have described as smug, self-satisfied and culturally incestuous, but also another that shows deep indignation over injustice and intolerance.

SOS Racisme, one of those faces, started modestly in 1984, when a dozen university students were worried about a series of racist killings and attacks and about the growth of the National Front.

It grew quickly into a mass movement. Its rallies, concerts and marches have drawn vast crowds, and the movement grew even larger as it took on a host of other causes. Today it claims 17,000 registered members and 350 chapters nationwide.

In November its popularity got another lift among the young when the movement advised and supported the thousands of high school students, many of them Arab and black, who took to the streets of France to protest overcrowded schools lacking in teachers and security.

The headquarters bears the remains of earlier campaigns — pamphlets for more equitable distribution of public housing, for better transportation to and from the drab suburbs filled with immigrants. Everywhere, large and small, is its symbol: a hand, held up as a stop sign, with the words, "Touche pas à mon pote" or "Hands off my buddy."

Désir and his team have greater plans. They demand that the government draw up an integration policy and break up the racial ghettos.

PEOPLE

Menem's Compromise

President Carlos Saul Menem of Argentina, no slouch at generating newspaper copy, has after a month's reflection decided he will use, but won't keep, a red Ferrari he was given by the Italian motorcycle maker Ducati "so you don't forget Italy." When news of the \$100,000 gift first became public, Menem said on television: "It's mine, mine, mine." But now he says, "As I am very respectful of the law, I'm going to leave this car as property of the nation," adding: "But meanwhile, I'm going to use it myself."

Brigitte Bardot, 55, the French cinema's best-known sex symbol in the 1950s and '60s, disavows all but one of the dozens of films she made and says she will never act again. "If only one trace of my passage on screen remained, I wish it was in 'La Verité' [The Truth], where I truly felt I was a real actress," says Bardot, who is now a leading campaigner for animal rights. Made in 1960 by Henri-Georges Clouzot, "La Verité" portrayed an incident in which a young Frenchwoman murdered her lover. The movie won an Oscar for best foreign film.

Mohammed Abdo, a Saudi Arabian singer famous in the Arab world, has "repented" and given up singing. Some fundamentalist Muslims consider singing sinful. A Saudi paper said Abdo wept in a mosque and promised he "would never sing again for the rest of my life." The congregation shouted "God is great."

The actor Tom Cruise married his "Days of Thunder" co-star, Nicole Kidman, during a private Christmas Eve ceremony at Telluride, Colorado. The 30-minute civil ceremony was witnessed by a handful of family members. It was the first marriage for the Australian actress and the second for Cruise, whose three-year marriage to the actress Mimi Rogers ended in January in divorce.

Queen Isabella I of Spain was due to be back in the news in 1992 for the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's landing in the New World, but a new controversy has advanced the date: Was she a saint? The Vatican is studying a petition that would make her one,

but many Jews and Muslims are outraged. While Isabella commissioned the voyage of Columbus that led to the Old World's discovery of America and the spread of Catholicism on the continent, she also is remembered as the queen who expelled Jews and Muslims from Spain, and it was under her rule that the dreaded Inquisition began. Samuel Toledano, head of the Federation of Spanish Jewish Communities, calls Isabella "a symbol of intolerance." Hesham Essawy, chairman of the Islamic Society for the Promotion of Religious Tolerance, says: "Muslims and Jews were forced at the point of a sword to convert to Christianity or die. She is more of a demon than a saint." But a priest says her contributions to unifying Spain and spreading Catholicism were immense. "She was one of the great women of history," says Anastasios Gakopoulos, who is arguing her case at the Vatican. He says Catholic churches in many countries of Latin America have given their support.

Paul McCartney has gone classical. The former Beatle will return to his hometown of Liverpool in June for the premiere of his first classical composition, "Liverpool Overture." The work is the semi-autobiographical tale of the life of a Liverpool war baby and was written with the conductor Carl Davis. McCartney won't be part of the performance, which will star Dame Kiri Te Kanawa and 200 musicians and singers when it is performed in Liverpool Cathedral. McCartney says writing the piece was challenging because he had no experience in classical music as a child. "But that is actually an advantage for me," he said, "because as I'm not familiar with the work of Schubert or Beethoven or Delius, I can write my own tunes without worrying whether they are sounding too much like some classical composer."

Toyohiro Akiyama, the Japanese journalist who was the first of either to venture into space, has returned to a hero's welcome, touring Tokyo in an open car. He said space travel was not for everyone, adding that he had not been able to keep food down for the first three days of the eight-day trip. He added, "I'm hoping for a month's rest."

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